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# INDIA

## PAST AND PRESENT

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# INDIA

## PAST AND PRESENT

### Historical, Social, and Political

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BY

JAMES SAMUELSON

*Of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law*

AUTHOR OF

"ROUMANIA PAST AND PRESENT," "BULGARIA PAST AND PRESENT," ETC.

*ILLUSTRATED WITH A RAILWAY MAP OF INDIA; WOODCUTS; AND COLLOTYPE VIEWS, PORTRAITS, ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SUBJECTS, FROM FORTY PHOTOGRAPHS BY SOURNE AND SHEPHERD, CALCUTTA, &c.; LALA DEEN DAYAL OF INDORE; S. HORMUSJEE, BOMBAY; MADAME SCARAMANGA, BOMBAY; AND OTHER WELL-KNOWN PROFESSIONAL AND AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHERS*

*Post Tenebras Lux*

X-6-45

LONDON

TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL

1890

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Ballantyne Press
BALLANTYNE, HANSON AND CO.
EDINBURGH AND LONDON

# PREFACE.

THE object of a preface is usually threefold—to announce the plan of the work to which it is prefixed, to apologise for shortcomings, and to express indebtedness for help received. In laying before my readers a sketch of the past history and present condition of the Indian people, I have endeavoured, as far as the altered circumstances would permit, to follow the plan of my former works on the Danubian States, which seems to have met with approval. As the subject of this treatise is, however, much more important and extensive, I have felt it to be due to my readers not to rely on my own judgment only in the recommendation of works of reference; and, in addition to the treatises and parliamentary papers named in the footnotes to the text, there will be found at the end of the volume a Bibliography, which has been prepared expressly for this work by Sir WILLIAM W. HUNTER, K.C.S.I., whose wide literary experience and knowledge of Indian subjects are a sufficient guarantee for its comprehensive and useful character.[1]

The second and third chapters contain references to the debated questions of the Descent of Man and the cradle of the Aryan race; and although I have laid before my readers a few striking facts in connection with those subjects which have come under my notice during the preparation of this work, and have stated the impressions they have made upon my mind, I wish it to be clearly understood that I have done so in no

[1] In the text, J. Wilson's work on "Indian Caste" is inadvertently omitted in note on p. 38.

spirit of assertion or dogmatism, but rather by way of suggestion for further inquiry. The locality or localities which were the habitat of the early ancestors of the modern races of mankind will probably be defined only when the major problem of the Descent of Man is solved, for if it should be clearly shown that he is descended from some lower form, the region (or, if there should prove to be more than one ancestral form, the regions) which produced that form will naturally be the centre from whence the various races were distributed over the globe. At the same time researches into the languages, anatomy, &c. of living races will aid in the solution of the problem, and in so far the philological controversy referred to in the text demands the close attention of biologists, and of the students of history in its broadest sense.

In stating that my whole time and thoughts during a recent visit to India were employed in mastering, as far as possible, the material, social, and political problems which are agitating the community, and in correcting erroneous impressions necessarily formed by persons who seek to acquire knowledge at second-hand, I trust that I shall have sufficiently explained why so little reference is here made to many of the charming features of Indian life and scenery which have enlivened the works of other writers on the country. The perfection of its fauna and flora, especially the latter; of its flowering plants, as, for example, the beautiful mauve bougainvillea, which attains sickly proportions in our hot-houses, but in India clusters like ivy over every point of vantage; its bright scarlet poinsettia; its palms and plantains; its banyans and tamarisks which line the splendid roads; the snows of the Himalayas; the picturesque costumes and interesting occupations of the natives—for an account of all of these the reader is referred to works, of which there are many, devoted to such subjects. All I have been able to do, after reviewing the past history of the country, has been to describe a few of its institutions as they appear in working order, and to point out the influence they seem likely

to exercise upon its future destiny and its relations to ourselves. In this regard I have made little or no reference to our recently acquired territory in Burma, on which it is too soon to form a judgment of any value.

If my work should command attention, and meet with anything like approval, the reader must refer the merit to the numerous kind friends in India and at home without whose assistance I could never have completed my task, and to whom I now acknowledge my deep obligations. To give the names of all would be impossible—of a few, invidious; but to one in particular, namely, to Professor Max Müller, whose guidance in that part of my subject of which he is a master has been invaluable to me, I owe and feel bound to give special thanks.

Unless the book is consigned to oblivion unread—a fate that no writer likes to contemplate—the controversial nature of the subjects of which it treats will necessarily expose it, and probably its author, to hostile and unfriendly criticism; but although a pretty long experience has taught me to regard such literary contingencies with equanimity, I would express the earnest hope that, whatever may be thought of my ignorance or lack of judgment, I may be credited with the desire to state every case fairly and honestly; for I have done so without personal feeling or conscious bias, and my sole object has been to serve the cause of progress in our great dependency.

JAMES SAMUELSON.

CLAUGHTON, BIRKENHEAD,
*November* 1889.

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# Part I.

## *HISTORICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL.*

# CHAPTER I.

## *A BRIEF PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF INDIAN HISTORY.*

The Indo-Aryan immigration into India—The aborigines—Controversies concerning the origin, and the unity or plurality of the human race—Origin of caste—The ancient Persians and the modern Parsees in India—Buddha and the Buddhist supremacy—The invasion of Alexander the Great and the Græco-Bactrian rule—The Scythians in India—The Mohammedan conquest and the Mughal dynasty—Number of Mohammedans in India—The Europeans in India—The Portuguese—The Dutch—The French—The conflict between the French and English—Decadence of French rule—Number of Portuguese, Dutch, and French in India to-day—The British in India—Their early adventurers and settlements—The East India Company—Clive and Warren Hastings—Extension of British influence and territory under their rule—Contests with the Marathas—With the Nawabs of Mysore—Fall of the Marathas and annexation of their territory—Semi-independent princes of India—Relations with and conquest of Burma—Conquest and annexation of Sind, of Nagpur, of the Punjab, of Oudh—The East India Company and the "Regulating Act"—The Board of Control—The last Sepoy mutiny (1857) and transference of the government to the Crown—The "Memorandum" of the moribund Company—Recent "Memorandum" of the India Office—Dual constitution of the government of India—Proclamation of the "Empress"—Growing desire for constitutional rule—"Imperium et libertas"—Number of British rulers, and of British-born subjects in India.

AT some period antecedent to the fourteenth century before the Christian era there immigrated into the north-west of Hindustan, through one or other of the passes of the Hindu Kush mountains, a tribe of wanderers who are usually known as the *Indo-Aryans*, and who formed part of the great Aryan nation, of which the ancient Persians, as well as the tribes who were the ancestors of most of the European peoples of to-day, are believed to have been branches. At the outset, however, it is necessary to qualify this statement by adding that, according to the opinions of certain recent philologists, it is doubtful

whether the European races migrated from Asia, or whether they are of European origin; and this question will be carefully considered hereafter, being one of great interest in connection with the problem of the unity or plurality of the human race. The same remarks apply to the origin and ancestry of other existing Indian races. The Indo-Aryans, who were a comparatively fair-skinned race, found in the north-west of Hindustan, and wherever they spread themselves, a people of darker hue, less civilised than themselves, who are described in their sacred traditions, the Vedas, &c., as godless savages, and whom they either conquered by force of arms, or in some parts settled amongst and subjected without the necessity of resorting to violence. Whether or not these "Dasyus" or "Nishadas," as the conquering immigrants called them, were the *aborigines* of India is uncertain; but a comparison of the accounts that are given of them in the Vedas with the Indian "aborigines" of to-day, shows conclusively that some of them must have been possessed of a very low bodily and mental organisation—indeed, that they were a more debased type of beings than what is now called "mankind." This view will be found to be supported by certain traditions of still existing races. Speaking generally, the descendants of the Indo-Aryan immigrants constitute the priestly and higher castes of to-day, whilst the descendants of the "aborigines" either rank as the lowest or Sudra caste, or belong to no caste at all.

As far back as about 520 years B.C., Hindustan was invaded and partly conquered by the *Persians* under Darius, and relics have been found which serve to show that, for a time at least, they secured a firm foothold in the country. A second immigration of Persians into Hindustan occurred many centuries after Christ, this time of fugitives from the Mohammedan power, and those Persians are recognised as their ancestors by the Parsees, of whom there are about 85,000 in India at the present time.

Before the arrival of Darius, however, an internal change had taken place in Hindustan which materially affected the character and destinies of the nation; this is called the *Buddhist supremacy*. So far as we can judge, the early Aryans

worshipped either one supreme deity under divers forms, or a number of deities who were believed to preside over different realms of nature: but whatever may have been the character of their deities, their heaven bore some resemblance to the Scandinavian Walhalla, and the gods set the example of deep carousing to their worshippers. At first the patriarchs of the tribe fulfilled the duties of the priesthood, but in the course of time a professional priesthood was established, which was, or ought to have been ascetic, and no doubt some of the Brahmins were true anchorites. About the year 623 B.C., the prophet of royal birth, variously known as Gautama, Sakya Muni, and Buddha, made his appearance in that part of India now called Oudh, and his ministry lasted from the attainment of his manhood until 543 B.C., when he died, leaving behind him numerous disciples who spread his doctrines throughout India, converting many chiefs and rulers, and the great mass of the common people. The Buddhist faith, of which the forms and ceremonies probably served as models for mediæval and modern Christianity, retained a powerful hold upon the Indian people for many centuries, and then, although it waned in India, it spread through Tibet and China, where it has continued to be the state religion. There are now in India proper not over 170,000 Buddhists, although, according to the last census, there were more than three millions in British Burma.

In the year 327 B.C., the *Greeks* invaded India under Alexander the Great, and although the conqueror's stay was not of long duration, his generals or successors established themselves there, and one important dynasty, of which marked traces remain, was founded in the north-west, and is known as the Græco-Bactrian rule.

During the period ranging from about 100 B.C. to 500 A.D., incursions into Hindustan of the mysterious people called the *Scythians* took place, this time undoubtedly from Central Asia, and the names of Scythian rulers are met with who have left permanent records in inscriptions, in relief figures, and in the formation of councils for the maintenance and dissemination of the Buddhist faith, which they had adopted.

The most important of all foreign dominations, however, except the British, was undoubtedly the *Mohammedan* rule. Although the Prophet was born in the year 569 A.D., and during his lifetime and after his death (632 A.D.) his faith was rapidly extending in the three known continents of the old world, it was not until about 1000 A.D. that his followers, under Mahmud of Gazni, carried their victorious arms into Hindustan, and even then five centuries elapsed before the dynasty of the Mughals (or Moguls) was founded by Babar, one of the descendants of Tamerlane, who made an inroad into the country in 1398 A.D. From that time forward the Mohammedans extended their sway, first in every direction north of the Vindhya Hills, and then southward over the greater part of what is known as the Dekhan. The Mughal power reached its zenith during the reigns of the four successive emperors—Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurungzeb, whose capitals were in turn Agra and Delhi; but after the death of the last-named in 1707, it declined rapidly; and although the dynasty continued to exist in name down to the deposition of Bahadur, after the last Sepoy mutiny (1858), India was in reality a prey to anarchy, being split up into smaller states which were either governed or misgoverned by native princes, some Mohammedans, others Hindoos, and it was colonised in turn and partially overrun by the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English. Each of those European nations at first established peaceable settlements on the coast, and then extended its territories inland by intrigue or by force of arms. There are at present in India about fifty millions of Mohammedans, constituting about one-fifth of the entire population.

The *Portuguese* may be said to have been dominant over a part of India during the whole of the sixteenth century. Their best known heroes or leaders were Vasco da Gama, Alfonso da Albuquerque, and Francisco da Almeida; their capital and chief settlement was, and is still Goa, on the west coast; and their permanent influence has been religious rather than political, as they founded missionary stations which still exist, not only on the coast, but in various places in the interior. The Portuguese population in India numbers about 480,000, besides half-castes.

The *Dutch*, who at one time enjoyed entire supremacy in the Eastern seas, also exercised considerable influence in India for about a century—between 1652 and 1759 A.D.—when Clive attacked and captured their capital (Chinsurah, in Bengal), and only restored it to them on condition that they should confine their operations to their own immediate settlements. There are not a hundred Dutchmen left in India, and they have in no way left their mark in the history of the empire.

The career of the *French* was far more brilliant and eventful, and at one time their power and influence extended over nearly the whole of Southern India, the chief seat of their government being Pondichery, near Madras. Pondichery was founded in 1675 by François Martin, and he, with his successors, Governor Dupleix, Admiral Labourdonnais, Governor Dumas, General Bussy, and Governor Lally, succeeded in bringing directly under French rule, or under the protection of the arms of France, the greater part of the Carnatic, the provinces of Mysore and Haidarabad, the district on the east coast known as the Northern Circars, and indeed nearly the whole viceroyalty of the Dekhan, of which the Emperor at Delhi was the nominal suzerain. The British were their chief rivals, and the conflicts between the two nationalities were carried on in alliance with the native princes. At one time the French would capture Madras, at another the English would invest Pondichery. To a great extent the native rulers were puppets in the hands of the Europeans, who elevated or deposed them as it suited their own interests. Now the French, then the British, succeeded in raising their protegés to vacant thrones, as in the case of Mozuffer Jung and Chunda Sahib, who were raised to the viceroyalty of the Dekhan and the rulership of the Carnatic by Dupleix, or in that of Mohammed Ali, whom the British placed at the head of affairs in the latter province. As it was in British India, so also the French territories were ruled from home by a trading concern, the "Compagnie des Indes," and the want of judgment and foresight of the directors of the French company led them to recall their ablest representatives just at a period when their services were the most greatly

needed in the colony. The exploits and eventual fall and disgrace of Dupleix and Lally will be treated more fully hereafter; here it is only necessary to say that, owing to mismanagement, incapacity, and jealousy, the French power in India fell as rapidly as it had risen. Their capital, Pondichery, was taken by the English under Coote in 1761, after he had made Lally, the governor, prisoner at Wandewash. Chandernagar (Chandernagore), in Bengal, had already been captured by Admiral Watson in 1757; and although subsequent to these disasters the French carried on intrigues, and gave secret aid to the enemies of this country for a considerable period, their actual preponderance in India terminated with the surrender of their capital, which was taken and retaken several times, and finally restored to them in 1815. It is still held by them, along with a few unimportant settlements and trading-stations, and there are now in all about 273,000 French subjects in India.

The history of the *British* connection with India, from the time when we first secured a foothold in that country down to the present day, has been to a great extent one of conquest and annexation. At first, it is true, our bold adventurers, beginning with Captain Hawkins in 1608, carried on a peaceful trade with the natives on various parts of the coast, but as we have already seen, they soon found themselves in conflict with other European nationalities, and formed alliances, sometimes defensive, at others aggressive, with the native princes. The first East India Company was established in 1600, but several rival concerns were subsequently founded, and those were eventually amalgamated with the original Company into one powerful corporation in the year 1709.

The operations of the British, at first commercial and afterwards military and political, were directed from three centres, namely, from Madras which subsequently became the capital of the Presidency of the same name; from Surat first, and then, in the reign of Charles II., from Bombay, which was the chief town of the Bombay Presidency; and from Hughli, whence the seat of authority was transferred to Calcutta in 1686. The settlements in Bengal were, however, at first subsidiary to

the other two Presidencies. Through the conquests and negotiations of Clive, who was twice governor, in 1758 and 1765, and of Warren Hastings, the first governor-general, in 1774, the British possessions in India were very largely extended, and on the retirement of the latter they included the whole of Bengal, with Orissa and Behar, the territory of Benares, the Circars, Madras and a small adjacent territory, along with part of Mysore (but virtually the whole of the Carnatic), Bombay, and the island of Salsette. Short notices of the careers of Clive and Warren Hastings will be given in another chapter, and full justice will be done to their great achievements; but it may be mentioned here that their extensions of territory were often accompanied by acts discreditable alike to themselves and to the British nation. They extorted money from native rulers for the East India Company and for themselves in consideration of the aid which they gave to the first-named in their internecine feuds, and in fulfilment of disreputable compacts which they made with those princes, they lent them the armed forces of this country to plunder and devastate unoffending states. Warren Hastings more especially laid himself open to this charge, and both were unscrupulous in making and violating treaties. On the other hand, they laid the foundations of a rule which, it is to be hoped, will eventually prove an unmixed blessing to the people of India, and which was at least a marked improvement upon the harsh despotism of many preceding centuries. The chief enemies with whom the founders of the British Empire in India had to deal were the French, of whose rise and fall preliminary mention has been made. Other powers with whom they came into conflict were the Marathas, having their head-quarters at Poona; the viceroys of the Dekhan and the Nawab of Mysore, Haidar Ali, and his son Tipu Sahib, who made inroads into British territory. The last-named was finally conquered during the governorship of Lord Wellesley, elder brother of the great Duke of Wellington, and the greater portion of his possessions was partitioned between the Nizam of Haidarabad and ourselves, whilst an indigent boy, a descendant of the old Hindu family which had been dispossessed by Haidar Ali, was

advanced to the throne of the remaining territory. The Nizam of Haidarabad just mentioned remains a semi-independent ruler to the present day, but the Marathas, who long continued to harass the British, were completely subjugated in 1817, when the possessions of their leader, the "Peishwa," were annexed to the Bombay Presidency, whilst another part of their dominions went to form a portion of the Central Provinces. Some of the descendants of the Marathas, Sindia of Gwalior, Holkar of Indore, the Gaekwar of Baroda, &c., remain semi-independent rulers of considerable states, advised and controlled by British "residents" acting under the supreme government.

In 1824, the Burmese having invaded India, the British declared war against them, and one portion of their territory after another was acquired, until, in 1886, the king Theebau was deposed, and the whole country was permanently annexed. In 1844, after a war of two years' duration, Sind was annexed to our possessions in India; and a little later the Punjab was added. Other smaller states, such as Nagpur, were brought under subjection; and finally, during the regime of Lord Dalhousie, in consequence of the misgovernment of its rulers, the last of whom was deposed, the kingdom of Oudh was incorporated with our Empire.

The whole government of India was long under the charge of the East India Company, and its servants exercised almost absolute control there. In 1773, the Company having been compelled to apply to the Government of the day for a loan, an inquiry was instituted into Indian affairs, and Lord North's "Regulating Act" was passed, which provided for the appointment of a Governor-General (Warren Hastings being the first), assisted by four councillors. Not long afterwards, in 1784, Parliament interfered still further in the government of the country, and Pitt's "India Bill" was passed, establishing the Board of Control. The Board consisted of six privy councillors nominated by the King, the Chief Secretaries of State, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Crown took the control of civil and military affairs in India, and the power of recalling the Governor-General.

After the annexation of Oudh, the great Sepoy mutiny broke

out, and when it was suppressed, the last important change occurred in the rulership of India, namely, the cancelling of the East India Company's charter and the complete transference of the supreme authority to the Crown and Imperial Parliament. About that time (1858), the East India Company published a "Memorandum of the Improvements in the Administration of India," showing what progress had been made in the country during the thirty years preceding, and it may be mentioned parenthetically that the India Office has just (February 1889) issued a similar document treating of the advance made in the intervening period. This memorandum will receive the attention which it deserves in the second part of the present treatise.

The Government of India now consists of two branches. The Indian branch comprises the Viceroy with his Council, and Lieutenant-Governors with their Councils in the various Presidencies and political divisions. At home it is represented by the Secretary of State for India and a Council of fifteen, who exercise a controlling and directing influence, and are responsible to Parliament. In 1877, during the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, the title of the Queen was changed into that of Empress, or, as she is known in India, the "Queen-Empress," and this change has given satisfaction to the great majority of the people of India, whose loyalty to the British crown appears, with few exceptions, to be undoubted. "Imperialism" would seem now, however, to have reached its zenith in our great dependency, and there is rapidly spreading amongst the enlightened section of the community a desire which is developing into a determination to enjoy some of the advantages of that constitutional government which has proved so great a blessing to the mother-country. For many centuries past they have had a large dose of the "imperium" in India, and it is not to be wondered at that their connection with free Britain should stimulate the desire for a change, which will at length allow them to taste the flavour of the "libertas." These matters will be fully treated in succeeding chapters. From the appointment of Clive to the governorship in the year 1758, down to that of

Lord Lansdowne as viceroy in 1888, there have been in all thirty-six British rulers, temporary or permanent, in India, and there are at present in that country about 90,000 British-born subjects out of about 254,000,000 inhabitants of every nationality.

# CHAPTER II.

## THE ABORIGINES OF INDIA.

Problems connected with the aborigines—The origin, and unity or plurality of the human race—Rise of religious sentiment—The earliest inhabitants of India—Their relics—Speculations concerning their immigration and settlement in India—Indo-Aryan traditions concerning them—The "Dasyus"—Resemblance to the Andamanese—Extracts from the Rig-Veda, &c., concerning them—Rama, and Hanuman the monkey-god—Mr. Chandra Das's experiences in Tibet—Supposed descent of Lamas of Lassa from Hanuman—Their simian features—The existing aborigines, so called—The Kolarians—The Dravidians—The Andamanese—Mr. Man's researches amongst them—Their antiquity—Their primitive customs—Physical character—Apparent simian descent—Darwin's "point on the ear"—The opposable great-toe—Their keen senses and low moral nature—Their language—Their shell-heaps or "kitchen-middens"—Religion, superstitions, and priesthood—Relations of the sexes—Strange burial customs—The Dravidians—Origin of the name—The Todas—Their physical traits—Hairy bodies—Marshall's account of them—Their "mands"—Reverence for the cow and worship of cow-gods—Religious beliefs and customs—Origination of religious sentiment—The Dravidians and Kolarians—The Lepchas—Their Mongolian features—Their customs—The "aborigines" generally—Their numbers and occupations—Recapitulation of evidence in favour of their descent from some lower animal—Interest of the inquiry—Note: Works on the aborigines.

THE student of Indian history who approaches his task without theological bias, and who is prepared to weigh carefully the evidence presented to him by tradition and by our own positive knowledge, soon finds himself face to face with three important problems—the origin of man, the unity or plurality of the human race, and the foundations and rise of religious thought. The few facts that will be noted in this chapter are intended not to solve those intricate problems, but mainly to point out the direction in which the student may with advantage pursue his investigations and inquiries concerning them. Without dogmatising, my own impression is that the evidence of tradition and of anthropological research supports the theory that man is

descended from some simian ancestor, or at least from some lower animal form, and, although the data are not so positive, that more races than one, having a distinct origin, have at different times immigrated into India. There is great diversity of opinion as to the manner in which the country was originally peopled. Some writers hold the view that there existed at a period long antecedent to traditional history a race of aborigines closely resembling the earliest European settlers. Their remains comprise cairns, cromlechs, circles of upright stones, flints and arrow-heads, the two latter polished as well as chipped. In the museum at Lahore there is an excellent collection of the last-named objects, which were found near Rewah in Central India, but they have also been discovered in other localities, and in no way differ from similar objects in our own collections.

Another view concerning the peopling of the country is that races of Indo-Turanians, whose original home may have been somewhere in Turkestan, passed into India at different times, and were the first to occupy all the northern and central regions.[1]

It appears more than probable, judging from the appearance and habits of the modern "aborigines," so called, that at some very early period one race of immigrants of the Turanian type entered India by the eastern passes of the Himalayas and first occupied that part of the country, whilst an entirely distinct race of Negro type, whose descendants are called "Negritos," crossed over from the Malay Archipelago and settled in Southern India. Whether the flints and other remains that have been found belong to those or to some independent race it is impossible to say, but at present the general opinion is that they are relics of still earlier settled tribes, the true aborigines. We shall find presently that such tribes still exist, and that some of them rank little higher than the brute creation, of which they possess many striking qualities.

It must not be supposed, however, that the descendants of these distinct types of mankind are to be found only in the districts in which their ancestors are supposed first to have settled; were that the case, the problem would be easy of solu-

[1] Modern India and the Indians, p. 148. Sir Monier Williams. Trübner; and elsewhere.

MONGOL
(Bhutia Man).

NEGRITO
(Andamanese).

INDO-ARYAN
(Native Prince).

ABORIGINAL
(Andamanese).

ABORIGINAL
(Toda Girl).

SOME INDIAN TYPES.

Machure, Macdonald & Co., Glasgow.

tion. Intermarriage has produced so many crosses, and migration has so dispersed these races, that the Negrito type is found even in the Himalayas; and the theories of the origin of man which have been based upon the present habitat and condition of the aboriginal races are as numerous and perplexing as some of them are fantastic and misleading.

The impressions made upon the later Aryan invaders by the appearance and character of the tribes they encountered are vividly described in the sacred traditions of the Hindoos. They called them "Dasyus," or enemies, whom their gods helped them to overcome, just as the Hebrews enlisted the support of Jehovah, and the Greeks and Romans that of their divinities. They described them as a black race, contrasting their dusky hue with their own fair skins; they had short arms and legs, projecting chin, broad and flat nose, red eyes, and tawny hair; in fact, their description is almost identical with that of some of the Andaman Islanders of the present day (Plate I.). They called them eaters of raw flesh, without gods, without faith, lawless, cowardly, perfidious, and dishonest. The constant cry of the invader is that his gods should annihilate the black Dasyus, who appear, however, from the same traditionary record, to have attained a certain stage of civilisation. That they were not a mere race of nomads is quite clear from the fact that they dwelt in rude habitations of a permanent kind; and from the accounts of the invading Aryans, who sometimes depreciated, at others exaggerated their warlike habits, they must have fortified themselves against the attacks of their enemies. Here are a few extracts concerning them, couched in florid Oriental phraseology:[1]—

"Great is thy net, O heroic Indra!" (their god), "who art great, and a match for a thousand, and equalling the strength of a hundred foes."

"Wielding the thunderbolt, and confident in his prowess, he strode forward, shattering the *cities* of the Dasyus."

[1] It would be inconvenient and needless to burden such a work as this with lengthened notes and references, but the quotations illustrative of the character of the early races of India have been extracted from Ludwig's German translation of the Rig-Veda, from Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," and from the works of Max Müller, Wilson, Caldwell, Hunter, and others; and I have occasionally italicised words to emphasise certain features in the life or character of the peoples so described.

"Distinguish between the Arya and those who are Dasyus: subject the *lawless* to the *man who offers oblations*.

"Indra protected in all battles the *sacrificing* Arya" (*i.e.*, the Arya who offers sacrifices to his deities); "chastising the lawless, he subjected the *black skin* to Manu" (the Aryan man).

"Indra has humbled the Dasyu, he has killed the Dasyu, and helped the *Aryan colour*."

"Thou who hast felled down with the chariot-wheel these seventy kings of men" (doubtless chiefs of tribes), "who had attacked the friendly Susravas, and gloriously the sixty thousand and ninety-nine *forts*."

"Put your everlasting hatred upon the villain who hates the Brahman, who *eats flesh*, and *whose look is abominable*."

"Who, O God of mighty force, didst in the land of the seven rivers" (the Punjab) "turn away from the Arya the weapon of the Dasyu."

"With these succours thou hast subjected all the distracted Dasyu peoples to the Arya."

The Brahmins described the Dasyus or aborigines as Bush-men or monkeys, and in one of the later traditions, the well-known epic the "Ramayana," the monkey-general Hanuman, who is now universally worshipped in India, plays a prominent part. Rama, the hero of the tale (who is also worshipped as a deity), goes to the south of India in search of his wife, Sita, who has been carried off to Ceylon by a demon king, and on the mainland he enlists the services of the aborigines or monkeys, and of their general, Hanuman, who helps him to recover his wife.

But there is no need to confine ourselves to one part of India for traditions of the simian origin of man. My friend Mr. Sarat Chandra Das of Calcutta, who spent a year in Tibet studying the customs of the people, tells me that those with whom he came into contact about Lassa believe implicitly that their progenitor was an ape, whom they too have deified as Hanuman ("Hanu," high cheek-bones; "man," possessed of), and they believe him to have lived four ages and to be immortal. He is worshipped, especially on Mount Kailas at Mansaravor Lake, and one of the peaks of a mountain where he is supposed to have died is known as Hanuman. The people account for the loss of hair on their bodies by a change in their food, but my informant tells me that even now many of the lower orders have distinctly simian features, and he gave me a photograph in which the most striking illustra-

tion of the type is unfortunately blurred, but it is inserted here in order that the reader may himself see the simian resemblance (Plate II.) in the right-hand sitting figure.

These are, however, after all, only legends and myths, and any scientific value they may possess is derivable from a comparison with still existing races. It is unnecessary for our purpose to enumerate the various tribes known as "aborigines" which are scattered over the greater part of India, but they may be roughly divided into three distinct groups. One of these, including the Kols, Santals, Juangs, &c., is known as the "Kolarians," who are probably of Tibetan origin, and are found chiefly in North-East and Central India. Amongst them, however, are Negritos and other races which have migrated and crossed with the original tribes. A second group, the "Dravidians," are met with in the Dekhan and parts of the Madras Presidency; and of these, the Todas of the Neilgherry Hills are perhaps the most prominent. Thirdly, a rude and savage race, of great interest so far as our inquiry is concerned, is found in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, lying in the Bay of Bengal between the 6th and 13th degrees of latitude.

The last-named race, that is, the Andaman Islanders, have been carefully studied and described by Mr. Edward Man,[1] who expresses the opinion that they must have inhabited those islands, and have remained in much the same state as they are at present, for a considerable period; indeed, he regards them as the aboriginal inhabitants, whose occupancy dates from prehistoric times.[2] They are still, he says, in the stone age, and the so-called kitchen-middens, heaps of shells and remains of feasts similar to those of remote origin which have been discovered in Northern Europe, still exist there. They live by hunting, fishing, and spearing turtle; their weapons are bows and arrows for the chase, and a kind of harpoon for spearing

[1] "On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands," by Edward H. Man. Trubner. Mr. Man is still engaged in his anthropological researches in the Nicobar Islands.

[2] The Bengalees believe them to be descended from the "Rakshasas," one of the original tribes found by the Aryans on their advent into Hindustan—"Borne by those undecaying flying pinions wherewith thou, Agni" (the god of fire), "slayest the Rakshasas."

turtles and large fish. These weapons are made of rattan, and were, until quite recently (indeed, some are still) tipped with a fish-bone, shell, or sharpened stone, a great variety being employed to suit the purposes for which they are intended. Amongst the numerous illustrations of those primitive weapons which are given in Mr. Man's interesting work, one is armed with the serrated bone at the root of the tail of the sting-ray. Of late the natives have obtained iron from our settlement at Port Blair, which they employ for arming the weapons named, and in the fabrication of a spear for "pig-sticking." In many respects, besides their faces, their description answers to that of the "Dasyus," although I do not wish it to be inferred that they are identical. They are small in stature, the height of the males varying from 4 feet 7¾ inches to 5 feet 3¾ inches, and their weight from 80 to 119 lbs.; the females range from 4 feet 5 inches to 4 feet 11 inches, and weigh from 67 to 135 lbs. They are exceedingly black, in some instances even more so than African negroes (Plate I.), and some have a dull leaden hue; they have little or no hair or down, the hair on their head being short and frizzly. The women must be hideous; they shave almost entirely, and smear their bodies with a whitewash of clay and water (Plate II.). The average duration of life in the Andamanese is twenty-two years, and they seldom attain fifty years.

Some of their bodily features and habits point distinctly to a simian origin, or a least to a descent from some lower form of animal life, and one of the most striking is Darwin's "point of the ear." That great naturalist has described a peculiarity often conspicuous in the human ear, namely, "a little blunt point projecting from the inwardly folded margin or helix. In many monkeys," he says, "the upper portion of the ear is slightly pointed, and the margin is not at all folded inwards, but if the margin were to be thus folded, a slight point would necessarily project inwards, and probably a little outwards. This could actually be observed in a specimen of the *Ateles beelzebuth* in the Zoological Gardens, and we may safely conclude that it is a similar structure—a vestige of formerly pointed ears—which occasionally reappears in man."[1] Mr. Man says that in the

[1] Descent of Man, i. 22, 23, with an illustration.

GROUP OF LAMAS, OF TIBET
(with Europeans)

TODA MAN
(after Marshall)

Maclure, Macdonald & Co., Glasgow.

ANDAMANESE
Boy Holding Bow [illegible] Whitewashed Women

Andamanese cases of Darwin's point in the ear are constantly met with. Another simian feature is the opposable toe—that is to say, the great-toe is capable of being bent round like the thumb, as in many apes, and is used to grasp objects. In climbing up a large creeper, he says, they proceed hand over hand with great rapidity, assisted by the big and second toe of each foot. Much use, he adds, is made of the feet in holding and picking up light objects, and the great-toe is in a considerable degree opposable. In a photograph given to me by Messrs. Bourne & Shepherd, a boy is seen holding a bow with his toes and hands, and I believe the attitude of the boy is purely accidental, which makes it all the more valuable as an illustration of this peculiarity (Plate II.).

Whilst their senses and animal faculties are keen beyond those usually possessed by civilised men, their mental and moral nature is of the very lowest order. Their sight is so perfect that they are able to detect birds or other objects concealed by the dense foliage of their forests to such an extent as to be hardly distinguishable, even when pointed out to more than ordinarily sharp-eyed Europeans or others; their sense of smell enables them from an almost incredible distance to specify and direct their steps towards any particular tree that may happen to be in blossom; whilst their hearing is so acute that they commonly spear turtles on the darkest nights, though able to direct their aim only by the slight sound made by the animal when rising to the surface to take breath. On the other hand, they have only two numerals, 1 and 2, and no definite words to express higher figures, for which they use such terms as "several," "many," &c., and a child often begins to count "1," "2," "many." Sometimes they indicate numbers by tapping the nose with the tips of their fingers. Of the languages of the islanders, Mr. Man tells us, on the authority of Lieutenant Temple, that there is only one group (bearing no resemblance to any other group), and denoting community of origin; that they prefer to coin words and phrases from their own resources rather than to borrow from aliens words expressing objects or ideas that are new to them. He gives, as an illustration, that, having no form of worship, when they saw Mohammedans at

their daily devotions, and heard that they were addressing an invisible Being, they expressed the act by a compound word signifying "daily repetition;" and inasmuch as, according to Man's account, they have themselves a belief in a Supreme Being, this would appear a striking illustration of the imitative method in which languages have originated. To their religious views we shall return presently. As stated above, they are believed to remain in the same state of barbarism as their ancestors were thousands of years ago, and nothing shows this so strikingly as the fact that they still allow shell-heaps and other masses of refuse to accumulate, precisely as they were found in the ancient kitchen-middens of the same locality.[1] These modern refuse-heaps are still in course of formation by communities living at a distance from Port Blair, and are invariably found near camping-grounds which have been or are still more or less permanently occupied.

Their "law" is that of the strongest, who commit crimes with impunity, and their "justice" is *vendetta*. They appear to have a hazy belief in a good and just Deity, who lives in the sky in a stone house with his wife and son, but, as in the case of most savage peoples, they have a much more definite one in demons and evil spirits, who, as usual, provide occupation for priestcraft. Their priests are called "dreamers," who are supposed during trances or paroxysms to be in communication with occult beings, to whom they direct sacrifices to be given (taking care to secure a large share of the offerings for themselves), in order that sickness may be cured or evils averted. According to some authors, they are, or were at no distant period, so closely allied in their moral and physical nature to the lower animals, that the men and women only remain together until the mother ceases to suckle the child; but although he admits that unchastity is common, and even goes unrebuked before marriage, Man denies that bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, or divorce exist amongst them. Polyandry is certainly not extinct on the Indian mainland. There are many customs and practices amongst these rude savages which proclaim their nature

[1] These are described in Dr. Stoliczka's paper, "Note on the Kjökken-Möddings of the Andaman Islands." Proc. As. Soc. of Bengal, January 1870.

to be akin to the higher animals, but for an account of these I must refer the reader to Mr. Man's interesting work, mentioning here only that their burial customs are most remarkable, one of them being to bury the dead for a time (the house-mother placing some of her own milk beside the grave when the deceased dies young), and afterwards to disinter and clean the skull and bones of the deceased, and to wear them in the form of necklaces, amulets, &c., of which the author referred to has supplied numerous illustrations.

Amongst the "Dravidians," so called from the ancient district of Dravida,[1] now part of the Madras Presidency, the tribe whose habits have been the most carefully studied, and who are probably one of the very oldest races of India, are the Tudas or Todas of the Neilgherry Hills, and a few interesting facts bearing upon the question of the early development of mankind may be gathered from their customs and character.[2] They do not resemble the people of the Andaman Islands in physical structure, being rather of the Semitic than of the Negro type. The height of the men averages 5 feet 8 inches, some of them being very tall, and the women 5 feet 1 inch. Their faces are long, with aquiline noses and brown or hazel eyes, a very dark copper-coloured complexion, and long wavy hair, usually parted in the middle (Plate I.). They have also a profusion of hair on the face, and Marshall says that the breast, legs, and arms of the men are also covered with hair. At about the age of twenty years, he adds, the hair often covers *the entire body*, especially over the abdomen, chest, and shoulders. In the accompanying figure (Plate II.), copied from one of his photographs,[3] this is seen distinctly, and in an original photograph of Bourne & Shepherd in my possession, the forearm of one of the men is completely covered with

[1] See map facing the title-page of Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India" (Trübner).

[2] The most exhaustive work on the Tudas is Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall's "Phrenologist among the Tudas," 1873 (Longmans), a somewhat misleading title of an excellent work; and valuable information on the subject has been contributed by Metz, "The Tribes Inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills," Mangalore, 1864; Pope on "The Grammar of the Tuda Language" (Trübner), and Caldwell's "Grammar of the Dravidian Languages" (same publisher).

[3] By permission of his widow.

hair; and this hair is not such as we find upon many other hairy races, but it resembles that of the lower animals. The Tudas live in small hamlets, called "mands," which contain a family group. Their huts, constructed of branches, resemble a gothic arch, or in some cases an ordinary hut or low cottage, and they have distinct huts for cows and dairy operations. Some of them practise, or until recently practised, polyandry, or the cohabitation of several men with one woman, which we read to have been a custom amongst some of the early Aryan races of India. Like the Hindoos, they reverence the cow, worship the "cow-god," or cow-bell which is hung up in their temples and dairies, and only slaughter cows after a funeral, believing that they thus supply the spirit of the deceased with milk in another world. They have some indistinct idea of a deity, practise demonolatry, and believe in transmigration; but they do not allow the women to participate in their religious rites and ceremonies. All their religious customs are more or less nearly connected with their pastoral habits; indeed, as Marshall says, their customs have through the course of ages so mellowed, as to have acquired all the effect and influence of sanctity, and "we find ourselves now in the interesting position of the actual witnesses to the growth of the earliest germs of religious belief and observance as they develop in the mind of primitive man from the material nucleus whence they originated."

The "Dravidians," of whom the Tudas are a small tribe, are believed to have retreated southwards before the advancing tide of Aryan immigration, but their relation with the Northern or Kolarian group is obscure in the extreme, and, as I have already said, the most trustworthy observers are of opinion that the latter came of an independent Mongolian stock, and that they entered Hindustan through the eastern passes of the Himalayas.

The Tibetan or Mongolian type is well seen in the Lepchas and Bhutias, who inhabit the north-east of India, chiefly Sikkim and Assam (Plate I.), and who have smooth sallow faces, flat noses, oblique eyes, and wear their long straight hair in pig-tails. The Lepchas are small in stature, generally under five

feet; are a peaceful race of cultivators; eat all kinds of flesh; marry one wife; and believe in good and bad spirits, the latter of whom they propitiate.

But to extend this notice of the earliest known races of India, or rather of their descendants, of whom there are about six and a half millions surviving, would fill a volume. They are to be met with all over the country, sometimes as settled or wandering tribes, at others, as the Santals, working as labourers in Calcutta, or as mendicants where they can scrape together enough to maintain life. I met a very degraded tribe (or portion of one) near the marble rocks at Jubbulpore, where they assist in the excavation of the marble; and saw them working as navvies, garden labourers, &c., in different parts of the country.

Speaking generally of the aborigines of India, we have sacred traditional accounts which represent them to have been savages allied to the apes, whilst in the Pantheon of the modern Hindoos one of the most prominent, if not the most conspicuous deity, is Hanuman the monkey-god, who is believed to have rendered a great service to the Aryan race. In the existing aborigines we find here and there marked peculiarities which point to a possible descent from some lower type of animal existence—the frequently recurring ear-point of Darwin, peculiar to certain apes; the opposable toe, characteristic of the same animal; the long stiff hairs of bipeds or quadrupeds in unusual parts of the body; the keen sight, hearing, and smell of some of the lower animals, coupled with mental qualities and habits in certain races which can hardly be called human; the inability of some of them to express numbers beyond two; the synthetical formation of original phrases to denote new ideas; the arrest of the faculty of being educated at a certain point (referred to by Man and others); the dawn of religious thought springing from customs closely allied to the animal wants of the race or tribe; the loose association of the sexes; the lawlessness of physical force, irrespective of right or wrong, in securing the objects of their desire; the exclusion of women as inferior creatures from the worship of supernatural beings supposed to confer good or evil on mankind; the nascent belief

in immortality, as illustrated by the killing of cows for the dead, and the supplying of the natural milk of the mother to the spirit of a deceased child.

If it should be considered that all these peculiarities and phases of savage life fail to establish the relationship of man by descent with some lower form, they are at least instructive facts bearing upon the inquiry, which will render the study of the aboriginal races of India more and more interesting to every class of readers.[1]

[1] Besides the works referred to in this chapter, the reader will find much interesting information in Hunter's "Indian Empire" (Trübner), Campbell's "Ethnology of India," Dalton's "Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal," Hislop's papers (edited by Sir R. Temple) "On Aboriginal Tribes in the Central Provinces," and especially in Watt's article on the Ethnology of India in the special catalogue of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, Part II.

# CHAPTER III.

## THE INDO-ARYANS—MODERN IDOL-WORSHIP.

The Indo-Aryans—Controversy regarding the Indo-Aryans and the Western races of Europe—Evidence for and against the Asiatic origin of European races—Comparison of modern Dauntian with ancient Indian customs in agriculture—Immigration of the Aryans into India—The Kyber Pass and former condition of the adjacent territory—Mode of progression in ancient and modern times (Note: Views of Mr. Commissioner Merk and Professor Vambery)—The great river "Sindhu" or Indus—The Punjab or "Land of the Seven Rivers" (five waters)—The mystic number seven—Quotations from sacred traditions—Permanent settlement of the Aryans in India—Professor Max Müller and the modern publishers of the Vedas—Other sacred writings—The modern "Shastras"—The Indo-Aryans and the Persians—Indo-Aryan gods and legends—Indra, his divine and human attributes—Quotations—His drinking propensities—The "soma" drink—Controversy concerning it—Drinking habits of ancient and modern India—Mr. Caine's mission—English drink-policy in India—Gambling in ancient India—A gambler's experiences—Quotations—The warlike Indo-Aryans—Their military customs and weapons—Origin of the four castes—The seven castes of Megasthenes—Remarks on modern caste—The peaceful occupations of the ancient Indians—Professions and trades—Manufactures—Art in ancient and modern India—Ancient Indian agriculture and field products—Wild and domestic animals—The Vedic priesthood—Their customs and ceremonies—Their drinking habits and worldliness—Human sacrifices (?)—The "horse-sacrifice"—The priesthood of modern India—The goat-sacrifice at Amber—Idolatrous worship of Krishna—A day of his mundane life, from waking to sleeping—English sanction of idolatrous practices.

If the reader takes up almost any popular work which treats either of the origin of the modern Hindoos or of the so-called Indo-European races, he will be told that there was in the remote past a nation known as the Aryans, who dwelt somewhere in Central Asia, and that one branch of this nation, the "Indo-Aryans," separated themselves from the parent stock, and crossing the Himalayas, settled in Hindustan, whilst another branch migrated westward into Europe, and, as the "Indo-

European" race, laid the foundations of the great empires of Greece, Rome, and of their descendants in Western Europe and America. "Our spiritual kith and kin," says Max Müller,[1] "are to be found in India, Persia, Greece, Italy, Germany," &c. In recent years, however, a warmly-debated controversy has sprung up concerning the origin of the Western races, and opinions differ as to whether they are a branch of the Aryan family or an indigenous European race. The advocates of the latter theory base their view partly on the evidence of colour and partly on that of language. As to the question of colour, it is only necessary to say that there are Hindoos of every shade, from a pale European cast to the deep black of the Negro; and as Caldwell says in his "Grammar of the Dravidian Languages," "If we follow any of the inter-tropical lines of latitude round the world, we shall find it passing through different zones of colour—olive, copper-coloured, black, and even white; and, on the other hand, if we confine our attention to India alone, climate and colour seem to be associated as cause and effect."[2] In regard to language, however, the problem is not so easy of solution. Based upon what may be roughly called the modern Aryan tongues, Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, &c., philologists have reconstructed an "Old Aryan" language,[3] which, under the hypothesis of Oriental origin, would naturally be the language of the original Aryan stock before its dispersion; but they have found no words in the languages of the earliest Western nations which enable them to give a common origin to the expressions "lion" and "tiger." Therefore, they say, the inhabitants of Europe, who are supposed by some to have migrated westward, cannot have known of the existence of these feræ.[4] The answer to this argument is, that after a long settlement in countries where such animals were absent, their names, and indeed their very existence, would be forgotten; whereas there are common expressions for others, such as the "bear," which is found both

[1] Chips from a German Workshop, p. 4. Longmans, 1867.

[2] Page 563.

[3] The Germans call it "Urarisch" or "Alt-Arisch."

[4] For the history of the words "lion" and "tiger," see Max Müller's "Biographies of Words, and the Home of the Aryas," pp. 113, 206, 207, &c. Longmans, 1888.

in Europe and Asia.[1] On the other hand, the advocates of the hypothesis of the Western origin of European peoples are hopelessly at variance as to the cradle of their supposed ancestry. Some believe them to have been the aborigines of Central Germany; others, of Southern Russia, somewhere north of the Black Sea; and others, again, assign Scandinavia as their original home; whilst there are writers who place them in Armenia and in Siberia. Amongst other evidence in favour of what may be called the orthodox theory, is the number of the Sanskrit roots of European words, the comparative mythology of India, Greece, Rome, &c., the dissemination of modified Oriental myths and religious customs throughout Europe,[2] &c. Still, as Max Müller has said in his "Biographies of Words,"[3] all that we can predicate of the original habitat of the two Aryan branches is that it was "somewhere in Asia."

Before leaving this subject, however, which is one of surpassing importance to all who are interested in the history of mankind, I should like to mention certain circumstances which came under my notice whilst I was in India, and which appear to me to have a direct bearing upon the inquiry. The reader is doubtless aware that the present inhabitants of the country lying south of the Danube, and those constituting a considerable part of the Russian nation, are of Slavonic origin. Now, the Slaves are held by the best authorities[4] to have been a branch of the Aryan race who migrated from Asia, and I was struck by the remarkable fact that many of the primitive contrivances used by the peasantry of India are almost identical with those of the Bulgarian plains. The carts are of the same shape, thick bamboo being substituted for the stems of trees used on the Danube; the peculiar wheels are similar in both countries, and in some cases absolutely identical. The description of the Bulgarian wheels which I have given elsewhere, and

[1] Biographies of Words, p. 163, where the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Celtic appellations are given.

[2] The student will find valuable information on these three heads in Cox's "Aryan Mythology" (Longmans), in Caldwell's "Dravidian Grammar," p. 71 (Trübner), and in Krek's "Slavische Literatur-Geschichte" (Graz, Leuschner & Lubinsky).

[3] Page 127.

[4] Krek, chap. i.

beg the reader's permission to quote, is equally applicable to many that I saw in various parts of India. "They have no tyres, and the rudest kind of felloes are attached to a rough nave by equally rough spokes."[1] The draught buffaloes are exactly the same variety as those of the Danube, with horns lying flat against the upper part of the neck, and they have the same heavy placid motion. There are two kinds of wells in India, the one worked by a winch and cattle which tread an inclined plane, drawing up the bucket in their descent, and the other constructed precisely the same as those used on both banks of the Danube, namely, a vertical beam upon which a horizontal one swings. In the latter, the rope and bucket hangs at one end of the horizontal beam, whilst a stone or some heavy material is fastened to the other end as a counterpoise; this is worked by hand, just as in the Principalities and elsewhere in Eastern Europe. That the ploughs and other implements should be of the same primitive character in both localities can hardly be considered singular; but there is one other significant fact, and that is, that just as of old the cow was the unit of trade amongst the "barbarians" who migrated from Asia into Europe, so, too, if I am rightly informed, it continues to be in certain parts of India to the present day. These facts, taken in combination, have gone far to convince me that the peasantry on the Danubian plains and on those of India have had one common origin.

At the same time, in seeking to solve the general problem, the discovery of similar flints and kitchen-middens in Scandinavia and India must not be overlooked.

It is by no means certain by which of the mountain passes the Aryans immigrated into Hindustan, but the probabilities are that it was the Kyber, and any one who has seen that pass must admit that it needed a hardy and adventurous race to quit the steppes of Asia and traverse the great mountain range in search of fresh pastures and a more genial home. Long and weary must have been their wanderings before they arrived at the northern entrance of the pass, and indomitable the courage that impelled them to penetrate its recesses. There may not have been in their day lawless mountain tribes to arrest their passage

[1] Bulgaria, p. 167 (Trübner).

Maclure, Macdonald & Co., Glasgow.

GROUP OF AFRIDIS OF THE KHYBER PASS.

(Plate III.), but neither was there, as at present, a beautiful road with its protecting fortresses—one dreary stony pass of forty miles, here closing up into a narrow gorge with frowning cliffs, there opening out into a valley winding round stony eminences. Hardly a blade of grass was there, nor is there now, for that matter, to indicate the existence of pastures beyond; nought but a few low shrubs and spiny-leaved plants. The very rocks must then already have been bleaching and crumbling away as they are disintegrating at the present time. And when they at length emerged from the pass, it was not to find the broad cultivated plain on which stand our fortress of Jamrud (Plate IV.) and the cantonment of Peshawar, and which is now traversed in safety by merchandise-laden camels, but a vast morass, which had to be crossed before they could find a grazing-place for their herds and solid ground whereon to pitch their tents. The dangers that surrounded the first immigrants would in all probability be increased by the smallness of their numbers and the necessity for frequent halts; for it is probably a mistake to imagine, as some do, that these Aryan races swept like a great wave over the Punjab. They would move a few miles, perhaps ten or fifteen, and then squat.[1] When their march had taken them some distance to the south-east of the pass they would leave behind them the vast snow-clad amphitheatre of the Hindoo Koosh, and would find good pasturage, as well as beautiful tropical and sub-tropical trees and shrubs, many entirely new to them, and some bearing luscious fruits. Wandering onwards, perhaps joined and strengthened by companions from their northern home, they would soon come in sight of the mighty Sindhu (Indus); and when they traversed that stream, it would not be by a magnificent bridge, such as the one at Attock, but on inflated skins and fragile rafts, and the crossing would probably be accompanied by loss of life to

[1] Mr. Commissioner Merk, who was one of the Boundary Commission, and is well acquainted with the nomad tribes north of the Himalayas, told me at Peshawar that this is still their mode of migration, and Professor Vambery also informs me that in the steppes of Central Asia "the march of the nomads depends upon the condition of the ground and weather, as well as upon the quality of the animals; generally a march takes ten or twelve miles, but Turcomans on a raid take the double." They cross rivers on inflated skins, &c., as did, no doubt, their ancestors.

man and beast. For then, as now, the Indus must have been a deep and broad river, with here and there rocks and mud-banks accelerating its rapid current seawards. Here probably, or hereabouts, the fair "Aryas" would find themselves in presence of their dark-skinned enemies the "Dasyus;" but they managed to drive these before them, and eventually found pasturage for their herds and arable land to cultivate. Still, however, before reaching the land of promise, they would have to march miles and miles over barren drift and clay, through patches of jungle, the ground here and there rising into low hills, through which to-day the iron horse with its attendant train speeds its rapid course. As already stated, there may be some doubt through which of the north-west passes the Aryan tribes migrated into India, but their traditions leave none as to their first settlement having been in the Punjab. These make frequent reference to the "Sindhu" or Indus and its confluents, which they spoke of as the "seven rivers," or, with the customary multiplication of that mystic number, as the "three times seven" or "seven times seven." To this day the reader who visits India will find the number seven used in buildings of a comparatively recent date; for example, the temples, mosques, and mausoleums often have seven steps, or multiples of that number, and the number seven is intimately associated with some of their religious customs and ceremonies. The names of the seven rivers are mentioned in various places in their sacred traditions; they are clothed with holy attributes, coupled with myths and legends, and are made the scenes of divine and human plots. The Indus itself, from which the name of Hindustan is supposed to be derived, soon became an object of worship, and was invested with divine qualities, its presiding deity being a female. The same remark applies to the highest of the range of mountains they traversed, from whence the celebrated "soma" plant, to which I shall refer presently, and some other useful plants, were believed by their descendants to have been brought.

"Each set of seven streams," they sang, "has followed a threefold course. The Sindhu surpasses the others in impetuosity." . . . "Thou flowest from the heights of the earth over a downward slope when thou leadest the

FORTRESS OF JAMRUD, S.E. ENTRANCE TO KHYBER PASS.

Maclure, Macdonald & Co., Glasgow.

TOWER OF SILENCE (with Vultures), BOMBAY.

van of these streams." . . . "When the Sindhu rolls on, it roars like a bull." . . . "Flashing, sparkling, gleaming in her majesty, the unconquerable, the most abundant of streams, beautiful as a spotted mare, the Sindhu rolls her waters over the plains." . . . "She is mistress of a chariot with noble horses; richly dressed, golden, adorned, yielding nutriment, abounding in wool, rich in plants, gracious, she traverses a land yielding sweetness." . . . "The Sindhu has yoked her pleasant chariot drawn by horses; by it may she grant us vigour in this struggle" (with the aborigines).[1]

Whatever may have been the character of the nomadic Aryans before they quitted the steppes of Central Asia or the district of Iran, whence they are usually supposed to have sprung, it is clear from their sacred records that as they gained a permanent foothold, first in the Punjab,[2] and subsequently in other parts of Hindustan, they made rapid advances in civilisation; indeed, many of their religious and domestic customs, as well as much of their system of agriculture, survived the later Mohammedan period, and, as it will be shown hereafter, have been handed down to their modern descendants. It is well known that their principal sacred traditions are to be found embodied in the Vedas, and though much has been written on the subject by far abler pens than mine, a few words concerning these may not be inappropriate.

The Vedas constitute a literature somewhat similar to the Hebrew Scriptures, the Mishna and the Talmud, and they are regarded by learned modern Hindoos as the latest and highest expression of religion and sacred philosophy. The most important of them is the Rig-Veda, the utterances of psalmists who are believed to have composed the hymns to the Aryan deity (or deities) during a period prior to 1400 B.C.; but it was not until fourteen centuries after the Christian era that their importance was recognised through the Commentary of Sayana Akarya, of which manuscripts are to be found in some of the public libraries of France and England. Full attention was, however, first directed to them in Western Europe by Eugène Burnouf, through a series of lectures delivered by him in Paris in 1846–47, and it was during his attendance at those lectures that our own illustrious

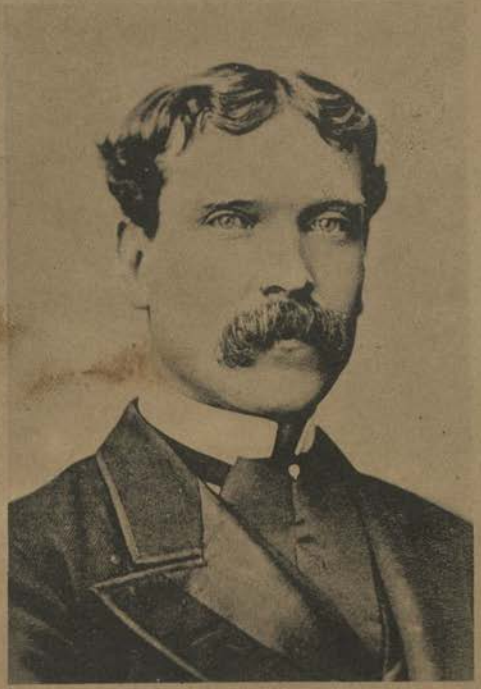
[1] These quotations are from Ludwig's German translation of the Rig-Veda, and Muir's "Sanskrit Texts."

[2] "Punjab" means, strictly speaking, "the land of the *five* rivers."

countryman, Professor Max Müller, first conceived the plan, which he has since accomplished, of publishing in Sanskrit a complete collection of the hymns of the Rig-Veda. It is no exaggeration to say, that in the achievement of this task he not only laid the foundations of the science of language, but has opened out a new era in the history of the human race (Plate V.). He has told us in one of his essays, that, with the assistance of the East India Company, he commenced the publication of his work in 1849, and completed it in six folio volumes in 1873. More or less complete translations of the Rig-Veda into modern languages have since appeared, the last (and I believe the only complete translation) being that of Professor Ludwig of Prag.[1] Besides the Rig-Veda, which is by far the most important, there are three others—the Yajur-Veda, supposed to have been compiled about 800 B.C., and first published in Europe by Albrecht Weber in 1852, and by E. Roër in 1854; the Sama-Veda, probably originating about the same time, and published first by Stevenson in 1842 with an English translation, and then by Theodore Benfey in 1848; and the Atharva-Veda, collected a couple of centuries after the preceding, and published by Rudolf Roth in 1856, and by an American writer, W. D. Whitney.

The Rig-Veda, as I have already said, comprises a number of hymns to the Aryan gods, and the later Vedas contain chiefly extracts from the Rig-Veda, together with sacrificial formulas, charms, and incantations; the Yajur and Sama Vedas are "prayer-books arranged according to the order of certain sacrifices, and intended to be used by certain classes of priests; whilst the Atharva-Veda was a guide to the superintending Brahmin or priest." Amongst the other sacred works of the Brahmins were the prose writings called the Brahmanas and Sutras, commentaries and directions to priests; the Upanishads, which treated of God and the human soul; whilst, at a much later period, when the worship of Indra, Varuña, &c. (to whom reference will be made presently), had given place to that of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, the Brahmanic triad or Trinity, that is to say, between 300 and 800 A.D., the religi-

[1] Messrs. Trübner have just finished publishing an English translation by Wilson.



SIR W. W. HUNTER, K.C.S.I., &c.

PROFESSOR F. MAX MÜLLER

ous writings known as the Puranas, and the epic poems the Mahabharata, and Ramayana, constituted the principal sacred literature of the Hindoos.[1] At present, the form in which these sacred writings, the Vedas, Puranas, &c., are utilised, is called the "Shastras," or, as we should call them, "the law," which contain what are held to be the inspired precepts of the Hindoo faith, the ceremonies of worship, and the text, often perverted, of those decisions whereby the priests maintain their hold upon the people, and seek, often successfully, to perpetuate barbarous, noxious, and idolatrous practices, and to impede the progress of civilisation.

Whatever may be the relationship between the Indo-Aryans and what are known as the Indo-Europeans, and wherever the former may have dwelt before their appearance in India, one thing is certain, namely, that they formed one race with the Persians. The languages of the two branches are closely related, for the old Persian dialect, as handed down through inscriptions and in the Zendavesta, the sacred book of Zoroaster, when compared with Sanskrit, point to a distinctly common origin. Both nations called themselves Aryans, and gave similar names to the aborigines or savages whom they encountered. The latter fact has led certain writers to the natural conclusion that some of the immigrants must have returned to their trans-Himalayan home. Their forms of worship were similar; the title of the Persian deity, Daêva, is synonymous with the Indo-Aryan gods or Deva;[2] and the Indo-Aryans, at the earliest known period, worshipped a deity referred to as Dyâus pitar (whence Zeus, Jupiter, &c.). They were then already an agricultural as well as a pastoral race, herding large flocks, living in tribes under different chieftains, acknowledging family ties, cultivating the soil with primitive implements, and practising certain handicrafts.

When they settled in Hindustan, they appear to have invested natural objects with divine attributes. Of this an illus-

[1] Max Müller, Lectures on the Vedas (Longmans); Ludwig's Rig-Veda; and Schroeder, Indiens Literatur und Cultur (Leipzig, Von Haessel).

[2] Compare "Avesta," Spiegel (Leipzig, Engelmann), with the Rig-Veda, in both of which numerous references occur to altar-fires, dry firewood for worship, &c.

tration has already been given with reference to the Sindhu or Indus, but every striking phase of Nature was similarly deified. Indra, who is believed by some to have superseded Dyâus, was the regent of the sky, the chief of the gods, the creator and ruler of heaven and earth, omnipotent, omniscient, the cause of order in the universe, and, according to the views of many commentators, and notably of Max Müller, he was at one time the sole deity, who was worshipped under different names.[1] "They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni." Looking, however, at the lengthened period over which the Vedic hymns and narratives extend, it would appear dangerous to generalise on this, as it is on many other Indian questions. Whatever may have been their theological conceptions (and even to-day there are controversies as to whether the members of certain sects worship God in or through material objects), this primitive people worshipped the dawn as Ushas, fire as Agni, the sun as Surya, &c.; and although in some of the hymns certain of the gods are addressed as being co-equal, in others the pre-eminence is given to a particular deity, and there are even instances where certain gods dispute about the priority of their respective pretensions.

It would be impossible to wade through the Vedic Pantheon, to trace the birth or relate the legends concerning the different deities; but according to the expounders of the sacred traditions, there were three prominent divinities—Indra, whose abode is in the air; Agni, on earth; and Surya (the sun), whose place is the sky. Like the seven rivers of the Punjab, the number of these deities is multiplied, and spoken of as thirty-three, namely, eleven in each of the preceding realms of Nature. Indra was a deified man, with the Aryan conception of man's virtues, and an unmistakable dash of exaggerated vice in his nature. By turns he was clothed with opposite attributes, was youthful, ancient, strong, agile—the early conceptions of eternity and omnipotence! He was a great warrior, slaying the enemies of the gods and of men, and, accompanied by Vishnu, encountering Vrittra and other demons, the withholders of rain, then as now the greatest want of the thirsty soil of India.

[1] "Chips," p. 29.

"I will shoot a thunderbolt at Vrittra; follow after me." "So be it," said Vishnu, "I will follow thee; smite him." "Indra lifted up the thunderbolt; Vishnu followed him."

He rode in a golden chariot drawn by golden steeds, and carried a golden whip, launched the thunderbolt, was armed with a bow and arrows, and with a net wherewith he overwhelmed the Dasyus. On the other hand, he was the benefactor of his Aryan worshippers, who (like the English clergyman who prayed for an increased stipend to be derived from a comfortable glebe) did not hesitate to ask him directly for cows, horses, chariots, and anything else for which they longed. He was believed to carry a golden hook, wherewith he dispensed these blessings.

"With that golden hook which confers wealth, O Lord of power! reach a wife to me."

"May Indra, a friend, grant riches to us, his friends."

Cows were constantly asked for, and his worshippers sometimes became very importunate, and even angry, if their wishes were not gratified. In one case Indra is told by the psalmist that if he were possessed of the ample resources which the god could command, he would show himself more bountiful, and would not abandon his worshipper to poverty, but would daily lavish on him cows and other property.[1]

But Indra had undoubted failings, that is to say, his worshippers attributed to him their own vices. He was, like all the Vedic deities, an inveterate toper, and the more copious the libations of the intoxicating soma that were offered to him, the more was his generosity supposed to be stimulated and his courage increased.

"Come hither, O Indra! to our sacrifice; drink of the soma, O Soma-drinker! thine intoxication is that which gives us cows in abundance."

"I have truly resolved to bestow cows and horses" (says Indra); "I have quaffed the soma."

"When he" (Indra) "combated against the withholder of rain" (Vrittra) in his inebriation, the refreshing rain rushed down the declivity like rivers."

[1] Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. v. p. 108.

I don't know what may be the origin of the saying, "Drinking like a fish," but Indra in one place is asked to fill his inside with soma, that it may become like a fish-pond. His worshippers certainly themselves appreciated the beverages which they offered to their gods, for they treated them as boon-companions.

"Very old," they said to one of them,—"very old is your favour and your auspicious friendship; renewing that again, may we now in your society intoxicate ourselves with soma."

This soma is a most mysterious beverage. Until recently it was believed to have been the juice of a creeper (*Asclepias*), which was macerated in water, and the liquid strained through ram's wool and mixed with malt and clarified butter, after which it was allowed to ferment until it possessed intoxicating properties. Recently, however, an animated discussion has taken place concerning the ancient drink and the plant or plants from which it was prepared; but neither botanists nor Sanskrit scholars have been able to unravel the mystery, and all that seems to be known of the plant from which "soma" was prepared is, that it was "a creeper," was "dark, sour, without leaves, milky, fleshy on the surface; it destroys phlegm, produces vomiting, and is eaten by goats."[1] One writer thinks the soma was prepared from the Cabul grape. The drink itself was deified, and Soma is the name of one of the Vedic gods.

Another drink of the early Hindoos was sura, which is believed to have been prepared from a species of grass (*Panicum*), the other ingredients being water, curds, honey, melted butter, and barley. This was a more intoxicating beverage than the soma, and was drunk by the laity, whilst the soma was reserved for the sacrifice and for the priests.[2]

The subsequent history of the habits of the Hindoos in regard to drink and drunkenness is curious and interesting.

[1] Extract from the Ayur-Veda, by Professor Max Müller, in "The Original Home of the Soma Plant," Biographies of Words, Appendix III. p. 224.

[2] In the "History of Drink" (Trübner), I have given a full account of the soma-sacrifice (with authorities), of the drinking propensities of the Vedic gods, of the sura drink, &c.

The drunkenness of the priests and people in the earlier Vedic period was undoubtedly very excessive; the later Vedas and the ordinances of Manu denounced the practice as sinful, and punished it severely,—in the case of the priesthood with death.[1] The Mohammedan conquerors of the Middle Ages were total abstainers, and so too, to a large extent, are the modern Hindoos. It reflects little credit upon another nation of conquerors, who regard themselves as one of the most advanced peoples on the face of the earth—I mean, of course, ourselves—that they have not alone introduced into India the practice of imbibing strong drink to excess, but promote its consumption by the natives for purposes of revenue.

Whilst I was in India, Mr. W. S. Caine, an advocate of Temperance, and a well-known member of the House of Commons (who has since obtained from that section of the Legislature an emphatic declaration against our Indian drink-policy), was actually engaged in the formation of native temperance associations in various parts of the country, to counteract the growing tendency to over-indulgence in drink amongst the native population, and to raise a protest against the system adopted by the Indian government, of disposing of licenses for the manufacture of strong drink to the highest bidder. My attention being naturally directed to this matter, I took the trouble, without ostentation, to institute careful inquiries on the subject from all classes and nationalities, and arrived at the conclusion that drunkenness and consequent crime are on the increase in many parts of India,—a deplorable state of affairs, for which our example and our mode of raising a revenue are largely, if not entirely, responsible.

But to return to Vedic times, strong drink was the exciting cause of the chief Aryan vices and crimes. It led to gambling, ill-treatment of wives and children, beggary, ruin, and even murder.

"It was not our doing, O Varuña! it was necessity, or temptation, an intoxicating draught, passion, dice, thoughtlessness."

[1] See "History of Drink," pp. 40 *et seq.*, where the sentences for drunkenness are given.

Here is the experience of the Indo-Aryan gambler and drunkard:—

"The exciting dice seem to me like a draught of the soma plant growing on Mount Mujavat. . . . My wife was kind to me and my friends, but I, for the sake of the partial dice, have spurned my devoted spouse. My mother-in-law detests me. My wife rejects me. . . . I cannot discover what is the enjoyment of the gambler, any more than I can perceive what is the happiness of a worn-out hack-horse. . . . Yet as soon as the brown dice when they are thrown make a rattling sound, I hasten to the rendezvous like a woman to her paramour. Others pay court to the wife of the man whose wealth is coveted by the impetuous dice. . . . The destitute wife of the gamester is distressed; so too is the mother of a son who goes she knows not whither. . . . Never play with dice; practise husbandry; rejoice in thy property, esteeming it sufficient."

What a lesson for East and West End betting-clubs and gambling-hells!

Undoubtedly the Indo-Aryans, both men and women, were brave, and war was their favourite pursuit. The courageous man was exalted and compared with the gods, whilst the latter were depicted as human heroes.

"Step forth, O ye heroes! mighty shall be your arms."

"There appears" (a vision) "like the lustre of a cloud when the mailed warrior stalks into the heart of the combat."

"Varuña, wearing golden mail, has put on his shining cloak; the spies sat down around him."

They possessed a military system, or at least fought with organised forces. Spies have just been mentioned. Armies, or strong bodies of armed men, are frequently referred to; and they were commanded by "kings," whose chief occupation was plunder, and who fought amongst themselves as well as with the Dasyus. In these wars it was believed that the gods took an active part ("an hereditary transmission of peculiarities," existing even in our enlightened age). The army consisted of warriors, who gradually became a distinct caste, the Kshattryas, and who constituted a superior force; but at a later period mercenaries were employed, and in times of great danger the whole community, even the women, took part in the conflict. Some of the warriors headed the army in chariots ranged in rows. These were often armed with scythes, were drawn by

(probably) two horses, and the reins held by a charioteer who accompanied the warrior. The armies were formed into some kind of order, and practised manœuvres, for we read of advances, flank movements, and retreats; and it is more than probable that their organisation and comparative unity contributed quite as much as their superior weapons to the victories which they won over their more savage opponents. Their weapons consisted chiefly of bows and arrows, which were sometimes poisoned, and numerous references are made to the execution done with them.

"With the bow may we conquer cattle. . . . With the bow may we conquer in the sharp conflicts. . . . The bow frustrates the desire of our enemy."

Besides bows and arrows, we read of the sword, the spear, the club, sometimes studded with sharp stones, battle-axes, knives, the lasso, the sling, and the net. Defensive weapons were shields, coats of mail, and helmets; but regarding the period when the two latter were introduced, and their form and material, there appears to be considerable doubt. The sacred fire was carried at the head of the army, and priests offered sacrifices, and invoked the aid of the gods whilst the battle was raging. War was usually undertaken during the fine season, the chief object of the invaders as they advanced into the country being to secure the fords of the rivers. Fighting in the mountains is also mentioned, and is spoken of as dangerous.

In the course of the preceding remarks mention has been made of the priests or Brahmins, of the warrior ranks or Kshattryas, and of the Dasyus or aborigines. These in the course of time came to rank as distinct castes, the conquered race being the ancestors of the Sudras of the present day. In addition to these, a fourth caste originated as the Aryans settled down to agricultural pursuits, namely, the Vaisyas or agriculturists, and from those four have sprung the present castes, whose name is legion. According to Megasthenes, who wrote between 302 and 288 B.C., the castes had already reached the mystic number seven in his day—the philosophers or Brahmins, the husbandmen, the neatherds and shepherds, the artisans, to

whom were afterwards added the retail dealers, the military overseers, who reported everything to the authorities, and the councillors and assessors, who deliberated on public affairs.[1]

It is not my intention to deal systematically nor at any very considerable length with the subject of caste. As Sir William Hunter says, "Each caste is to some extent a trade-guild, a mutual assurance society, and a religious sect;" and he also adds very truly that English education is the great solvent of caste[2] (Plate V.). The broad question of caste divisions is far too complicated to be dealt with here, but of the action of certain castes, such as the Brahmins, the Kayasth (or writer caste), the thief caste, the Kanchans (prostitute caste), I shall have something to say hereafter, as also concerning the treatment of men of culture and intelligence who break the regulations of the higher castes; but it must suffice here to observe, that just as the primitive Vedic religion has ramified into the Hindoo Pantheon of to-day, so the four original castes were the foundation of the present complex and multiple caste system.

In times of peace the Indo-Aryans cultivated the soil and followed many vocations and handicrafts.

"The *carpenter* seeks something that is broken, the *doctor* a patient, the *priest* some one who will offer libations." . . . "With dried sticks, with birds and feathers, with metal and fire, the *artisan* continually seeks after a man with gold. I am a *poet*, my father is a doctor, and my mother a *grinder of corn*" (the drudge as usual!).

Besides the fabrication of chariots and arms, and of the other implements of warfare already named, we read of artificers in wood and in leather, of tanning, sewing, spinning, weaving, of pottery and utensils of wood for domestic use and for holding the soma. To cross the rivers, rafts or boats were sometimes used, and rope is mentioned; also skins for holding liquids, rude implements of agriculture; and Muir quotes a verse from

[1] "Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian," p. 43, by M'Crindle. Thacker: Bombay. Trübner: London.

[2] "The Indian Empire," p. 197. Trübner & Co. Chapter VIII. contains an excellent summary of the present condition of caste, so far as it can be ascertained with certainty. See also "Modern India and the Indians," p. 167, and elsewhere, Sir Monier Williams; and H. H. Wilson, "The Religion of the Hindoos," edited by Dr. R. Rost. Trübner & Co.

the Rig-Veda which implies the existence of barbers: Agni, the god of fire, "envelops the woods, consumes and blackens them with his tongue." . . . "Driven by the wind, he invades the forests, and shears the hairs of the earth like a barber shearing a beard."

In considering the industrial occupations of the Indo-Aryans, some, doubtless, of a somewhat later period of their history, we come across traces of that taste and ability which afterwards characterised the workmanship of the artisans in the Mohammedan age, and which are still to be found in the Hindoo manufactures of the present day; in the beautiful brass and silvered work of Benares—the exquisite mosaics and alabaster ornaments of Agra; the artistic clay figures of Lucknow; the pottery of Baroda; the enamelled metal work of Moradabad, of Cutch, and of Cashmere; in the embroidery of Ahmedabad; and the wonderful carpets fabricated by Hindoo workmen in almost every gaol in India, and sold even in Regent Street to the nobility of our own country.

The Aryans of Hindustan not only carved in wood and wrought the precious metals, but they prepared the skins of the tiger and the lion as carpets for their chiefs, and adorned their chariots with mother-of-pearl. Indeed, one of their hymns is devoted to the praise of that beautiful shell, which is even to-day introduced with such adroitness into the exquisite mosaics of Agra, &c. The following is a free translation of a few extracts from the hymn referred to, which show that amulets were made from mother-of-pearl:—

"Thou, most brilliant of all things, didst spring from ocean: . . . the mother-of-pearl is for us a universal specific. . . . This shell, born of gold, is for us a life-prolonging amulet. . . . May it protect us from all evils, from the arrows, from the gods" (demons). "Thou art one of the forms of gold born of soma. On the chariot thou dost shine beautifully, on the quiver thou shinest brilliantly; mayest thou prolong my life. Mother-of-pearl were the bones of the gods. I bind it round me for long life, ornament, and strength."

The agriculture of the Aryans, although it did not produce so great a variety of useful products, was closely on a par with that practised by their descendants in our time; in fact, there is no phase of Hindoo life which so well illustrates their con-

servative character. They cultivated barley and other cereals, beans, maize (which they scorched and offered as sacrifice), millet, sesame, and probably at a later period rice, although that almost universal food-product is not mentioned in the earlier writings. These products grew in fields which were ploughed, and they were mowed or reaped, thrashed, and stored in sheds. References are even made to manuring, but I can find none to show whether the present systems of irrigation (which will be described in detail hereafter) were already in vogue in the Vedic age. Some such system was indispensable for the growth of cereals.[1]

The chief wealth of the people consisted of cows and cattle, which were marked at the ears,[2] and were fed with artificial as well as natural food. As already stated, the cow was the unit of barter, just as it was with the ancient races on the Danube, and as I am told it is still in many outlying districts of India. Smaller domestic animals, such as goats, are referred to, and as to-day, they were offered as sacrifice; also dogs, for protection as well as for hunting the lion, tiger, boar, buffalo, bear, and elephant, &c.; apes and hyænas are also mentioned. Butter was prepared, and "clarified butter" was largely used in the sacrifices. In addition to their other industries, there is clear evidence of a trading class, as mention is made of pedlars, of attacks on travelling dealers, and of the price of articles; but this class would be very unimportant in so primitive an age.

This is a rough outline of the character of the Indo-Aryans, the ancestors of the modern Hindoos. In the next chapter I propose to treat of the position of women amongst the Indo-Aryans; to glance at their condition under the Mohammedans, to whom the Hindoos attribute many of their discreditable customs in relation to their womankind; and to make some reference to those customs as I found them still to exist in India; and I will conclude the present one with a brief account of the Hindoo priesthood and some of their religious ceremonies, ancient and modern.

[1] Irrigation was certainly practised three or four centuries B.C., as Megasthenes, the Greek writer, says "the whole country was under irrigation."

[2] Another Danubian custom.

Max Müller has described the Vedic priesthood in detail, and he tells us that there were at that time four orders of priests:[1] "The officiating priests, manual labourers, and acolytes, who have chiefly to prepare the sacrificial ground, to dress the altar, slay the victims, and pour out the libations." The remaining three orders were the choristers, who chanted the sacred hymns; the reciters or readers, who repeat certain hymns; and the overseers or bishops, who watched and superintended the proceedings of the other priests, and ought to be familiar with the Vedas. This organised priesthood was not, however, the work of a day. Originally, the head of the family or the chief of the tribe was also the spiritual guide and officiating priest. Afterwards in the tribes whose more important operations were directed and regulated by signs, omens, and portents, professional priests were employed. These soon came to be regarded as authorised mediators between the gods and men; then to possess supernatural powers and to be capable of communicating directly with the former. They alone drank soma with the gods, and probably indulged freely in private on their own account; for, judging from the Buddhist reaction against vice and immorality, and from certain of the repressive ordinances of Manu, they must at one time have been habitual drunkards.

"Like the hotar" (chief priest), "drink first of the soma! O Indra, we offer thee, O god, this sweet soma for inebriation."

The priests knew, as they still know, how to take advantage of their confiding flocks, and heavy were the draughts upon their benevolence and the tributes extracted from their superstitious devotion. As already stated, they performed various duties in peace and war; offered sacrifices and prayers during battle; pronounced incantations against witchcraft, to whose malicious influence insanity and many diseases were attributed. They celebrated marriages and attended by the side of the women during childbirth, praying loudly and earnestly for male offspring.

"In the right way let a son be forthcoming."

"A female, let her be brought forth elsewhere; here create a male."

[1] "Chips," vol. i. p. 9.

For this event, always the hope of the Hindoo, there was a special set of services.[1] Death and burial too needed their ministrations; but these ceremonies, simple at first, soon became complicated and cumbrous, presenting a mass of monotonous reiteration and meaningless formulæ, and these complications were attended with all the devices and jugglery of priestcraft, and with every form of worldliness. Even in the earlier period, "gold pieces" formed part of the offerings; and later on, the avarice of the priesthood, as may be gathered from the Brahmanas, must have been inordinate. We read that the consecrating priest at a royal installation is to receive gold, a thousand head of cattle, and a piece of land; in other places even larger fees are demanded. In most cases, the priests participated in the offerings at the altar. These consisted, besides soma, of horses, cows (a fine one being stipulated for the priest); and various kinds of food, chariots, slaves, and even clothes were received as tribute. It is somewhat doubtful whether human sacrifices were customary. Probably that may have been the case at one time, and if so, the victims were women and slaves; but the practice must soon have been discontinued and animals substituted.[2] The most important ceremony of this kind was the well-known "horse-sacrifice." On the installation of a great chief, a horse was let loose into his neighbour's possessions; this he followed with his army, conquering if possible, and often retaining the territory through which the horse ran; and on its return with the victor and his forces, the animal was sacrificed amidst great ceremony and rejoicing.

The various phases of priestly life may still be studied almost unchanged in India, where in many parts the priests follow secular pursuits as porters, shepherds, cultivators, potters, and fishermen, whilst in some villages they are schoolmasters and almanac-makers.[3] They still perform the offices assigned to them of yore. If the reader should ever visit the old city of

[1] Ludwig, vol. iii. p. 477 *et seq.*

[2] For a full discussion of this question, see "Ueber Menschenopfer bei den Indern in der Vedischen Zeit;" Weber, "Indische Streifen." Berlin: Effert & Lindtner, 1868.

[3] Hunter and Monier Williams.

Amber, near Jeypoor, he may see at nine in the morning these men scatter flowers and ground sandal-wood upon a poor kid, and then, with little devotion, and as I saw them, with much gossip laughing and gabbling, strike off its head with a sword. They then catch the blood in a basin, and offer it to the presiding goddess of the temple, Sila-Devi, a form of Kali, the wife of Siva. The whole disgusting ceremony appeared to me (although my impression may have been a mistaken one) to be got up or perpetuated for the benefit of English tourists, who are expected to place a small sum as an offering before the goddess. It is said that formerly, for a considerable time, a human being was sacrificed daily in this temple.

In most of the temples these acolytes require the visitor to remove his shoes before approaching the gods, and if they (the gods) happen to be asleep or enjoying a meal, he is asked to wait a little until these interesting operations are finished, and the curtain can be withdrawn behind which they are concealed. Indeed, the class of priests referred to are the attendants upon the gods, who are treated with more or less generosity—I mean the gods—according to the endowments of the temples or the liberality of the worshippers. In Ahmedabad I was told that there were five daily services at one of the temples, but elsewhere there are as many as eight; and a Brahmin friend described these services to me as they are performed in a certain temple dedicated to Krishna. In that particular temple there are six services. First, there is the awakening of the god early in the morning, when the image is rubbed with curds, milk, ghie (clarified butter), honey, and sugar, each in turn, and finally sweets are placed before it. This rubbing is called "Panch amrit puja," and I think it means the worship of the five elements (panch, five; amrit, nectar), fire, earth, air, water, and space. The image of the god himself is of black polished stone five feet high, and by his side are then placed his wife and a child manifestation, but in the evening these are removed to a dormitory. The second service is "Shinghar," the decoration of the images. On ordinary occasions the jewels and other ornaments in this particular temple vary in value from 1000 to 2000 rupees, but during certain festivals they are worth ten

or even a hundred times that amount. The images are also decorated with flowers. The third ceremony is "Rajbhog," the royal dinner, which consists of from six to fifty-six dishes, according to the occasion. It comprises vegetables, sweets, &c., in the best form of Hindoo cookery; and after the offerings are made, these viands are distributed as "sprats" amongst the wealthy Hindoos, in order to secure their donations for the support of the temple and its votaries, the amount paid by the recipients of these sacred dainties varying according to the measure of their devotion or credulity. The fourth ceremony is the Siesta, which it would appear necessarily follows even the spiritual contemplation of these carnal enjoyments. It was during this interesting phase in the daily life of the deity that I visited one of the temples, and I was requested to wait until he had finished his nap; but I have always suspected that he was awakened sooner than usual for my special benefit. "The awakening," the fifth ceremony, is accompanied by the ringing of a bell (which, by the way, is also rung by each worshipper as he departs), and on grand occasions by beat of drum and other discordant music; and then the curtains of the sanctum are withdrawn, and he graciously condescends to show himself to his crouching worshippers.[1] The last ceremony is "Shain," going to sleep. The doors are closed, the child is put into a silver cradle, the wife into an ordinary bed, and is covered up like a human being, whilst the deity himself no doubt drops off to sleep of his own accord.

I cannot answer for the precise accuracy of these details, but they fairly represent the ceremonies attending the worship of Krishna; and what struck me as strange is, that the English Government or the local authorities should appear to countenance such idolatrous practices. At the entrance to some of the temples notices are posted in English requesting the visitors, in the name of the authorities, to remove their shoes before entering the temple, on the ground that respect should be paid to the feelings of "devout worshippers." Great credit is due to the Indian Government for treating all denominations alike in

[1] I am not quite sure whether, on the occasion referred to above, they were doors which were opened or curtains withdrawn.

secular matters, and no liberal-minded Englishman would desire that our rule in India should be marked by any form of religious persecution. But is not the posting of these notices likely to be construed by the ignorant worshippers as a sanction and approval of their degrading idolatrous practices? and would it not be better altogether to forbid visitors from entering these dens of superstition out of mere curiosity? In a later chapter we shall have an opportunity of further considering the question of idolatry and priestcraft in India, but as this one has already been unusually extended, we must now pass on and direct our attention to the past and present condition of women in our great dependency.

# CHAPTER IV.

## THE WOMEN OF INDIA, PAST AND PRESENT.

"They degraded the female sex into mere servants of pleasure, and in so doing they deprived society of that noble tone of feeling towards the sex which, considered as a spur to 'raise the clear spirit,' is superior to every other impulse save that of religion."—*Peveril of the Peak.*

Indo-Aryan women—Their courage and general character—Polyandry—The "Swayamvara" or maiden's choice—Story of Draupadi—Polyandry to-day—Vedic marriage customs—Courtship—Betrothal—The wedding ceremony—Quotations—Poisoning husbands in ancient and modern times—Polygamy and the inferiority of women—Re-marriage of widows—Indian women described by Megasthenes—His version of the "Swayamvara"—Taking off the gilt—Assessment of a woman's virtue—Influence of Buddhism—Sati or widow-burning—Women under Mohammedan rule—The "Ayeen Akbery" and Akbar's female establishment—His ordinances concerning marriage——Fattehpur Sikri and the palaces of his empresses—Royal game of hide-and-seek—Burning of Hindoo women after a defeat—Sati as described by Bernier—Abolished by Lord William Bentinck—Modern Hindoo subterfuges to maintain women in subjection—The "Brahmin" marriage ceremony in Akbar's time—Throwing of rice—Retention of old customs—The ceremony to-day—Modern seclusion of women—Their character and occupations—Sir Syed Ahmed's comparison of English domestics and Hindoo ladies—Superstition and idolatry of women—Author's observations on Zenanas—Good qualities of Hindoo women—Obstacles to reform—Immoral practices of English—Causes of bigamy—Love of jewellery—A Hindoo student's views—Condition of women in the Madras Presidency—Native reformers—Views of a native journal—Zenana teachers—Their influence—Dubious methods of conversion—Mistakes of reformers—Immoral practices of wealthy Hindoos—Opinions concerning them—Graphic account of the condition and sufferings of women by the wife of a Methodist missionary——The future of women in India—Necessity for their liberation—Their influence on the coming race.

WHEN we try to ascertain anything definite concerning the condition of women among the aborigines or earliest known races of Hindustan, we find the available information so meagre and obscure, that we are constantly tempted to judge of their

position in ancient times by what we see of them amongst the so-called "aborigines" of to-day; but it is needless to add that any such inference must be open to serious doubt and objections. The sacred traditions of the Vedic age, however, and the epics of a later date, throw much light upon the condition of womankind, but even there it is dangerous to generalise; for those writings extended over a period of about 2000 years, and during the interval between the earlier and later traditions, the names of the very gods were changed. Against this must be set the undeniable fact that the social customs of the race have been, and as I have already to some extent shown, are still very conservative, a circumstance which should be borne in mind by social and religious reformers in all movements that are undertaken for the benefit of the Hindoos, male or female, in the present day.

A striking quality in the women of ancient India, and one that is common to most primitive races, was physical courage. On occasion they fought along with the men; but whilst their bravery, as women, is sometimes mentioned, we find that they were treated with little gallantry as warriors, and reference is made to their fighting powers only in order to accentuate the superiority of man. The weapons of the Dasyus who were driven before the Aryan invaders are spoken of as being as inefficient "as though they had defended themselves with women instead of men." Constancy and fidelity were lauded in women, as infidelity was condemned in language too coarse for transcription, and punished in both sexes. Marriage and marriage ceremonies are frequently referred to, but it is clear from even the most superficial examination of the sacred writings that polygamy, polyandry, prostitution, and various forms of immorality prevailed at different periods, and, as I shall be able to satisfy my readers, Woman has been a household drudge and the object of pleasure and traffic in India from the earliest times down to the present hour. Polyandry, as it has been already stated, still exists amongst the aborigines of India, but whether the Indo-Aryans originally borrowed the practice from their barbarous neighbours, or the aborigines of to-day have inherited it as a legacy from their conquerors, it is difficult

to determine. One fact however is certain, namely, that it was practised in the higher ranks of the ancient Hindoos at a comparatively late period of their history. One of the chief incidents of the well-known epic, the Mahabharata, furnishes a striking example of the practice. It was a custom in royal circles, when a princess became marriageable, for a tournament to be held, and the victor was chosen by the princess as her husband; this custom was known as the Swayamvara or Maiden's choice, and it is often mentioned in the ancient legends. In the Mahabharata, Drupada King of Panchala,[1] had announced such a "Swayamvara," to enable his daughter Draupadi to select a husband, and Arjuna, one of five princes all brothers, won the bride who became the wife of the five brothers to each of whom she bore a son. Polyandry, however, in all probability became obsolete amongst the Hindoos under Mohammedan rule, and is now confined to a few unimportant barbarous tribes in Southern India; and according to some writers it is found in "Jat" families in the Punjab, but so far as I could ascertain, it must be very rarely practised anywhere in India.

The Aryan marriage customs were very interesting, and inasmuch as they give us an insight into the domestic life of the period, and some of them are still followed in India, it will be well to consider them somewhat in detail.

When the young Indo-Aryan found a girl whom he wished to make his wife, he sent messengers to the house of her parents to press his suit, and if his proposals were agreeable to the parents, the betrothal followed. Whether or not these marriages were planned in the Vedic heaven is uncertain; no doubt the girl's parents held some such view, for they employed the priests to pray for the advent of a lover: "For our welfare, O Agni, may a suitor soon present himself for this girl."[2]

The ceremony of betrothal was as follows:—A vessel was filled with flowers, bruised grain, fruits, and barley; and if the parents were in affluent circumstances, gold was added. Both bride and bridegroom laid their hands upon the vessel, after

[1] See Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," p. 6 (Trübner).
[2] Ludwig, Rig-Veda, vol. iii. p. 476.

which the officiating priest (for he was present at every stage of the ceremony) placed it upon the head of the bride, recited an appropriate verse conveying a blessing, and the betrothal was complete.

Next followed the wedding. The bride was washed with perfumed water, and decked in a bridal robe, which was given to her by her intended:—

"Newly clad, sweetly perfumed, in a beautiful costume, I appear in the glow of the early morning."

"Bestowed by the gods with Manu, this robe of the bridegroom and bride."

"The bridegroom's wedding garment, the garb of the bride."[1]

A sacrifice was then offered, and presents given to the priests. The bridegroom was conducted to the house of the bride by a procession of young maidens, who chaffed him vigorously on the way and demanded favours of him. What those were we are not told, beyond the fact that they did not violate propriety. On his arrival, after general greetings, presents were exchanged between the bride and bridegroom, and the latter received a cow from his father-in-law. One of the priests then blessed the couple, and admonished them to fix their home where they were, and not to lead a wandering life nor forget their religious duties.

"Here you shall abide, nor yet wander abroad; your cows, let them multiply; . . . all the gods shall occupy your thoughts. Come to this couple, O ye cows! with children; the gods can spare you."

The bridegroom then took the hand of the bride, and in so doing he pronounced this formula:—

"As Agni grasped the right hand of this earth, so I grasp thy hand. Tremble not thou who art bound to me with children and with gods. Savitar, the god, shall grasp thy hand. Soma, the king, shall make thee rich in offspring."

After this, the bridegroom carried fire round the bride, the relations looking on; and then the bridegroom, bride, and

[1] Ludwig, vol. iii. p. 474, and elsewhere. Subsequent quotations connected with marriage customs are chiefly taken from Ludwig's Rig-Veda, &c., and Muir's "Sanskrit Texts."

priests went hand in hand round the altar on which the sacred fire was burning, the bride placing in the fire a special offering of meat decorated with mimosa blossoms, whilst the groom recited appropriate sentences. The bridegroom then conducted the bride to a stone, on which she placed her right foot as a symbol that she had trampled out all that was evil in her nature. Suitable verses accompanied every part of the ceremony :—

"The fire of Aryaman shall go round her, her father-in-law and brothers-in-law looking on."

"After thou" (the bride) "hast prayed for a tranquil mind, for children, happiness, wealth ; having become obedient, enfold thyself to thy husband to eternity."

She is to be mistress of her household, but he the master :—

"Thou art my spouse by right. I am the lord of thy house. . . . Do thou dwell with me, rich in offspring, a hundred autumns."

He prays, too, for protection for his bride from the Rakshas, the aborigines :—

"All plants, all fields, all woods, all those shall protect thee from the Rakshas."

After these acts the procession wound seven times round the sacred fire, and the ceremony was complete. Other admonitions were addressed to the bride whilst the ceremony was in progress, which not alone indicate a very barbarous state of society, but are very significant when we look at the character and occupations of the Hindoo women of the lower orders and their relations with their husbands in the present day. She was to work no harm to her husband, nor to his relatives :—

"Kill not thy brother-in-law, nor thy husband ; be of good-will towards animals, affable, full of grace."

The admonition not to kill her husband no doubt referred to jealousy ; and if the reader were to visit the gaols of India to-day, he would find, as I did, that most of the women who are confined for life have been convicted of the murder of their husbands through that passion. The number of women in prisons is, however, quite insignificant as compared with this country.

Although the ceremony of marriage was completed, as I have just described it, it was not at once consummated. On her arrival at her new home, the bride sat down, and the child of some well-born parent was placed on her lap as a symbol, whilst at sunset the bridegroom took her out of their hut and pointed out to her the pole-star as an emblem of the constancy with which she must adhere to him. For three days she still remained a virgin, and then, after further religious ceremonies and prayers of which the language is too coarse for transcription, the marriage was consummated.

Priestly ceremonies accompanied every subsequent event of married life; pregnancy, birth, when the mother left her couch, and ten days after that event, when great festivities followed. As I have already said, polygamy was common, and woman held a lower position than man:—

"He sacrifices to the man first, then to the woman." . . . "He exalts the man in consequence of his vigour." . . . "He sacrifices to the man as to one, to the woman as to many." . . . "Hence also one man has many wives."

The widow was not, as in our time, forbidden to marry: she was usually taken by the deceased husband's brother, they making atonement by:—

"She who has already found a husband and then finds a second, they must both give a male goat and five odanas" (? measures of rice); "they shall not separate; . . . (and mark the mercenary impostors), "they who have given a calving cow, a draught-ox, a bolster, a garment, gold, they go up to the highest heaven."

As already stated, prostitution was practised to a large extent, the female victims being probably captured aborigines, and all women taken in war became the slaves of the conquerors. Whatever consideration may have been shown towards the weaker sex by the Aryans of the Vedas, there is little doubt that at a somewhat later period their condition, and with it their nature, must have become debased. When one discusses this subject with enlightened Hindoos of the present day, he is often met with the assertion that they are not responsible for the condition of their women, but that the Mohammedans who conquered and ruled over India are to blame for the present

subjection of the sex, e specially for polygamy; but plausible as appear, it is more than doubtful. Megas- such an accusation may who spent some time in India towards thenes, the Greek writer ury before Christ, tells us that they (the the close of the fourth cen ves, whom they buy from their parents Indians) "marry many wi of oxen. Some they marry, hoping giving in exchange a yok mates, and others for pleasure, and to to find them willing help dren. The wives prostitute themselves fill their houses with chil be chaste." Some of the women unless they are compelled to : for, speaking of the great were, however, more circumspec nother writer (Arrian), who value of the elephant in that day. ys that "Indian women, if lived in the second century A.D., s ould not stray from virtue possessed of *uncommon* discretion, w . . . "Nor do the Indians for any reward short of an elephant." favours for an elephant, consider it any disgrace to grant her nt to the sex that their but it is rather regarded as a complim nt."[1] Indeed, Arrian's charms should be deemed worth an eleph early Hindoos shears account of the marriage customs of th of all its romance. the "Swayamvara" or "Maiden's choice e marriageable are "The women," he says, "as soon as they a in public, to be brought forward by their fathers and expose r running, or by selected by the victor in wrestling, boxing, c ise." some one who excels in any other manly exer d a check upon

The introduction of Buddhism, which plac t brought about various forms of vice and immorality, no doub men in India; some temporary changes in the position of wo of the but it is probable that the asceticism which was one ati chief features of that religion also led to such practices as S or widow-burning. The Brahmins have always defended that horrible custom, of which more will be said hereafter, as a Vedic injunction, but it never found a place in the old Vedic system, and is of a much later growth. It was forbidden by the Emperor Akbar, and there is no doubt that many other barbarian customs had survived in his day, even in an exaggerated form; but it is equally certain that the Mohammedans maintained the practice of polygamy, and they are probably responsible for the seclusion of women in India. Speaking of the court of

[1] Arrian's "Indika," p. 222. Calcutta: Thacker. London: Trübner.

Akbar, his greatest biographer has graphically described his female "establishment."[1]

"There is in general," he says, "great inconvenience arising from a number of women, but his majesty, out of the abundance of his wisdom and prudence, has made it subservient to public advantage, for, by contracting marriages with the daughters of the princes of Hindustan and of other countries, he secures himself against insurrection at home and forms powerful alliances abroad." The harem was an enclosure of such immense extent that there was a separate room for every one of the women, whose number exceeded five thousand. They were divided into companies with a head-woman over all; their salaries ranged from 1028 to 1610 rupees per month for ladies of the first rank, and from 2 to 40 rupees for the women servants; and regular accounts were kept of receipts and expenditure. The inside of the harem was guarded by women; immediately at the outside gate the eunuchs of the harem kept watch, and at a proper distance Rajputs (soldiers), whilst outside of the enclosure was a little army of troops stationed according to their rank. When the begums of leading nobles wished for admission to pay a visit to any of the inmates, a regular series of communications from rank to rank had to be made, and finally they were admitted, and in some cases allowed to stay a month. "But," adds the chronicler naïvely, "besides all the precautions above described, his majesty depends upon his own vigilance as well as on that of his guards."

Although Akbar was far from exercising restraint and self-
nial in his own person and practice, his principles were
hly moral and exemplary, for we are told that "he did not
rove of a man's having more than one wife" (no doubt
ring a restriction of the supply for himself); and he forbade
rriages until the age of puberty, "because if, upon their
al at years of discretion, they should not be satisfied with
ther, it must be a continual source of family discord."

[1] yeen Akbery—The Institutes of the Emperor Akber," written by his Vizir
Fazel, and translated from the original Persian by Francis Gladwin.
s. London: G. Auld, Greville Street. 1800. (The first volume of a sub-
ent translation by Blockman also exists.)

What a pity that the paternal Government of India does not take a leaf out of Akbar's "Institutes" and do likewise! The consent of both bride and bridegroom were required before a marriage; excessive marriage portions were forbidden, and so were young men to marry old women, but apparently not the converse. Akbar raised a considerable revenue from the marriages of his subjects, just as *our* Indian Government does from salt and other necessaries of life.

Whatever may have been the Mussulman influence in regard to polygamy, it must be clear to all who know anything about modern India, and who have studied its past history, that most of the abuses which attend the conjugal relations of the present day were already in full swing before Akbar's time, but as to polygamy, he set a very bad example. At Fattehpur Sikri, near Agra, there are still the ruins of a complete set of palaces, where the visitor may lunch at a bungalow and have his ears tickled with about as many untrustworthy stories as could possibly be put together in the same time or space. He will, however, see several palaces of Akbar and his wives—one of whom is reputed to have been a Mohammedan, a second a Christian, and a third a Hindoo—and he will mount a singular structure consisting of five galleries or terraces, one above another, and connected by flights of stairs, where the greatest Eastern monarch of modern times is said to have indulged in the recreation of playing hide-and-seek with his sultanas of various nationalities. I can only vouch for the existence of the beautiful Panch Mahal, of which the reader will here find a photograph (Plate VI.), but not for its former application in the manner stated.

The Hindoo women in Akbar's time accompanied the men to war, but the poor wretches were not allowed to escape nor defend themselves in cases of reverse. "When they" (the Hindoos) "go to war, or are attacked by an enemy, they put their women together in one place, where they surround them with wood, straw, and oil, and some stony-hearted men are with them, who, when those engaged in battle have no hope of preserving their lives, set fire to the pile and reduce the women to ashes." And as to Sati, although, as I have said

MAUSOLEUM OF AKBAR, SIKANDRA, NEAR AGRA.

Maclure, Macdonald & Co., Glasgow.

THE PANCH MAHAL (FIVE PALACES), FATHPUR SIKRI, NEAR AGRA.

Akbar forbade it, the custom had taken too firm a hold upon the people to render the prohibition of any avail. "A Hindoo wife," says the writer quoted, "who is burned with her husband, is either actuated by motives of real affection, or she thinks it her duty to conform to custom, or she consents to avoid reproach, or else she is forced to it by her relations. Some women who have been prevailed upon by their relatives, or have persuaded themselves against burning with the corpse, have found themselves so unhappy that they have cheerfully submitted to expire in the flames the next day." A French traveller, Bernier, who was a physician at the court of Aurungzeb, tells a very different story concerning this horrible custom, of which he narrates several cases that came under his own observation. "Many persons whom I then consulted on the subject would have persuaded me that an excess of affection was the cause why Hindoo women burn themselves with their deceased husbands, but I soon found out that this abominable practice is the effect of early and deep-rooted prejudices. Every girl is taught by her mother that it is virtuous and laudable in a wife to mingle her ashes with those of her husband, and that no woman of honour will refuse compliance with the established custom. These opinions men have always inculcated as an easy mode of *keeping wives in subjection*, of securing their attention in times of sickness, and of deterring them from administering poison to their husbands." Chiefly, however, he blames the Brahmins, saying that in some cases, "those demons animate or astound the affrighted victims, and even thrust them into the fire." [1]

Sati was not finally abolished until 1829, under the government of Lord William Bentinck, whose name will ever add lustre to the British rule in India; and even to-day the visitor comes upon traces of it in the shape of shrines, which were erected to the memory of heroic women who so sacrificed themselves, or, as we have seen, were sacrificed. A word before quitting this subject. Just as certain persons would have persuaded Bernier that women in his day voluntarily submitted

[1] Travels in the Mogul Empire, vol. ii. pp. 14 and 16, by Francis Bernier. London: Pickering, 1826.

to Sati because it was consistent with their welfare, so several enlightened orthodox Hindoos would have persuaded me that the women choose seclusion as conducive to their happiness; but I soon found, on close observation and inquiry, that the two cases are parallel, and that early prejudice instilled by the mothers, and a desire by the men to keep the women in subjection, are the true motives, which they seek to conceal by various subterfuges.

As to the marriages in Akbar's time, with some modifications, they were celebrated much after the ancient fashion; but there were, according to his chronicler, eight distinct forms for different castes or orders. In what he calls the "Brahmu" form, the girl's father brought the bridegroom to the bride's house; arrived there, her grandfather or some other male relative then said aloud before the company, "I have betrothed" (naming the woman) "to the man" (naming him), and the bridegroom expressed his assent. After that, both declared themselves sound in mind and body, and one of the girl's female relatives washed the feet of the bride and bridegroom. Both then marked themselves with a "*kushkeh*." After this, three vessels were placed in the middle of the whole wedding-party, one containing rice, a second curds, and the third honey, which, after certain prayers, were given to the bridegroom and bride to eat. The pair were then robed and placed in a corner, where they sat with a curtain between them. The father of the woman and all his sons then turned to the east, a Brahmin all the time repeating prayers. The latter next approached the two chief actors in the ceremony, and gave to each some rice and five betel-nuts, and the intervening curtain being withdrawn, they threw the rice and betel-nuts upon each other. Then the Brahmin put the woman's hand into that of the man, and after repeating a prayer, he first separated them and then tied together a hand of each with a slight thread. After this, the bride's father took hold of her hands, and giving her away to the bridegroom, said, "May there always be a partnership between you, and may it produce benevolent satisfaction." Finally, a fire was lighted, and the couple were carried round it seven times, which completed the ceremony, making them

man and wife; and we are told that until this last act was performed, it was allowable to break off the match.

My readers will no doubt be reminded by these ceremonies of some of the incidents connected with a modern Christian marriage, as, for example, throwing the rice amongst Protestants, and the procession round the altar in the Greek Church, where, after handing the wine to the newly married couple, the priest leads them three times round the altar table, I am told by a competent authority, "in token of spiritual joy."

To conclude this part of my subject, which is probably of interest to some of my fair readers who may still be looking forward to a personal experience of the kind, I will now briefly refer to a few of the ancient forms which are practised in the Hindoo ritual to-day, adding by way of caution that the ceremony is by no means uniform everywhere. Certain months of the year are set apart for the celebration of marriages; the priest is consulted for a propitious hour, and the ceremony is usually performed after sunset. (At Baroda I was asked to attend a Hindoo marriage which was to take place at 2 A.M., which the priest had pronounced to be a propitious hour.) During part of the ceremony the bride and bridegroom are tied together, not with a string, but by a portion of their respective garments; an altar with the sacred fire kindled upon it stands ready for use, and into it the bride and bridegroom throw parched corn or fried grains. The couple along with the priests promenade seven times round the fire. The priest takes the bride out, and showing her the pole-star, admonishes her to be as constant to her husband as the star is in the heavens.[1]

So much has been written concerning the condition of Hindoo women to-day, and so much that is contradictory, that I have some hesitation in expressing my own views on the subject. Those views have, however, been formed not only from information that I have received from various classes of persons, such as members of the reformed Hindoo faith, English zenana teachers, and even from orthodox Hindoos many of

[1] This custom is not universal in India.

whom are sincerely desirous of raising the status of their female relatives, but from my own personal observation. Certain well-established facts may be taken for granted. As a rule, the female relatives of orthodox Hindoos are either confined in zenanas, or, when they go abroad, it is not to be seen of man. In Calcutta, any one may see at the native theatre a portion of the boxes and galleries used by the fair sex screened from observation as completely as—well, as the ladies' gallery in the House of Commons.

Many of the women, who have not enjoyed the benefit of English instruction, although excellent and devoted wives and mothers, are ignorant, superstitious household drudges. Of some of their customs, as I witnessed them myself in zenanas which I was privileged to visit, I shall speak hereafter. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan of Alighur, whose name has been very prominent of late as an opponent of the Indian National Congress, once visited England, and is reported to have said of the housemaid who waited on him in a London lodging-house, "It is a fact that if this woman, who is poor and compelled to work as a maid-servant in attendance night and day upon me, were to go to India and mix with the ladies of the higher classes, she would look upon them as mere animals and regard them with contempt."[1] It is true this was written nearly twenty years since, and there has been considerable change in the relative position of the English domestic (Sir Syed includes even the maid-of-all-work in his contrast) and many of the Hindoo women of the middle classes; but on the whole, I fear the comparison to a large extent holds good. Of the two sexes, the women are more completely under priestly influence, and consequently they are more idolatrous and superstitious. In one zenana which I visited, accompanied by a son of the house, a Brahmin who had abjured his faith, or at any rate thrown over all idolatrous practices, the chief lady was particularly anxious that I should be shown the room in which the idols were kept; that was to her the holy of holies. Besides cooking for their male relatives and keeping their (the males') portion of the

[1] Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan, C.S.I., by Lieut. G. F. J. Graham, p. 192. (Blackwood.)

house clean, their time is largely spent in gossiping with neighbours, with whom they exchange visits, and in talking about their jewels and dress. Many of them are devoted and anxious parents, who exercise their influence to keep order in their numerous households, which often comprise from fifty to a hundred more or less closely-related members. In one that I visited there were sixty inmates. As to their seclusion, there is no doubt that many are happy, or at least contented, for, as I have already said, they are taught at an early age that their condition in that regard is consistent with morals and religion. Past history and observation of the present also combine to make many of their male relatives hesitate before consenting to their emancipation. The undisguised practice which obtained until recently amongst British officers and civil servants, of keeping native concubines, is not forgotten; the fruits of this immorality being ever before the eyes of the Hindoos in the great Eurasian community. The debauching of the lower class of Hindoo women, who are naturally chaste, by British soldiers, with the sanction of their English rulers, and by the servants of the railway companies, is another warning to the natives. But even amongst the English of the middle classes in India, there are many who are notoriously loose in their relations with the natives, and what is still more startling to the latter, with each other's wives; whilst the English home journals, which are closely scanned by the enlightened natives, constantly give prominence to what are known as "*causes célèbres*," reflecting little credit upon the English aristocracy. I think, however, that these are, after all, secondary causes of the seclusion of women, and that the inherited notion of woman's inferiority is there, as it is even to the present day in a lesser degree amongst ourselves, the chief obstacle to their emancipation. The desire for offspring, and especially male offspring, frequently causes Hindoos of good position to take a second wife, and then the objection to allow them liberty is increased. Another reason is the fear of losing caste, and the difficulty, already great, of securing husbands for marriageable daughters within the caste. I know personally of one case in which a Brahmin was compelled by his parents to take a second wife in

order that a husband might be secured for his own sister in the person of one of her (the second wife's) brothers.

As I have already said, the wives are servants of all work, who cook for their husbands and wait upon them at table. The husband leaves a small portion of each dish for his wife, as a kind of symbol or indication that she is not a mere domestic drudge, and in many, very many cases, he shows his affection for her or them mainly by allowing them to expend a much larger proportion of his income than he can afford on dress, ornaments, and especially jewellery.

I was very much amused by the remark of a precocious student, married, I believe, in the College of the American Presbyterian Mission at Lahore, on this subject. I was discussing the question of hoarding with the students, when one of them said, "Why, I have heard from many that when a man earns fifty rupees, he spends thirty on necessaries, and his wife makes him buy jewels for her with the remainder, and hoards them."

In some parts of the Madras Presidency, I believe the women have a little more liberty than elsewhere in India, and an orthodox native of that Presidency was making a boast to me of this fact in the presence of a large number of Madrassees. Another of the company instantly interposed. "Liberty!" he said, "yes; but the women cannot sit down to meals with the men, who eat their meals alone; the wives wait on them, and when their lords and masters have finished, they *feed*." But he was instantly corrected by another of the company, who timidly remarked that that was not universal, for "at the marriage ceremony, you know, they eat together." "Yes, but that is the only time in their lives," was the final retort.

A considerable number of native reformers are at work, under immense disadvantages, trying to raise the status of women; and the following paragraph, which appeared in a native paper (*The Hindu*) whilst I was in India, shows with what difficulties they have to contend, even in their own households:—

"The importance of raising the status of our women will be seen not merely from the story of European countries, but from the personal experience of every educated Indian who has at any time endeavoured seriously

to introduce reform. The most formidable difficulty in the way of the Indian social reformer is not so much the ignorant injunctions of the Shastras or the arbitrary restrictions of caste, as the ignorance of our women. Educated males do not profess to be bound down by one or the other; they are willing to set both at naught in the interests of social reform. But they feel it too great a sacrifice,—in fact, feel that it will be perfectly useless, to introduce innovations at the cost of domestic happiness, at the cost of the goodwill and association of all those women whom they respect and love. There is no reason why educated women should not see the necessity of reform as the educated men do, and if only we take particular care of the education of Indian women, other difficulties will disappear from the way. The Hindu society is a huge mass of inertia and lifelessness; a tremendous push, operating over a large part of its surface, is necessary to set it going. One or two individuals, however courageous or earnest, can do absolutely little; nor can any considerations of expediency or individual vanity ever move our community. A new life must be breathed into it; it must regain its lost power of life. But this can never come to pass until women are prepared to encourage and march with men in the path of reform and progress."

The emancipation and elevation of Hindoo women is one of the subjects, also, on which all classes of Englishmen in India are agreed. Of the influence of zenana teachers in ameliorating their condition I will speak more fully when we come to consider the question of missionaries and religion; at present it is only necessary to say that contact with cultured Western ladies, and the education which they are themselves receiving at their hands, must necessarily have an elevating influence upon them, and must cause them to be dissatisfied with their own ignorance, dependence, and seclusion; and in fairness to a large number of Hindoo gentlemen it must be added, that they are anxious to see their wives and daughters educated, to prepare them for admission into society. The same remarks apply still more strongly to the education of girls by the missions and the state and municipal authorities. Some good is being done by the medical missions, but as it is often counteracted by what is little short of enforced proselytism, much of the moral influence is lost. One zenana teacher complained to me that Lady Dufferin's purely secular system of extending medical aid to women, which will be fully described hereafter, was very injudicious, and that *their* method is much more effective for the promotion of Christianity.

"And how so?" I asked.

"Why, at eleven o'clock, when the dispensary is full of patients, we close the doors; no one is allowed to leave, and we have Christian prayers and worship."

I have no doubt there are many enthusiastic persons who will be glad to hear of this proselytising zeal, but to me it looks like bribery and coercion, and is not likely to raise either Christians or Christianity in the eyes of the natives. In other ways, too, the English are sometimes injudicious in their well-meant efforts to "bring out" the native ladies. At Ahmedabad an attempt has been made to establish a native "Ladies' Club," but I was told on good authority that it is proving a failure, for the simple reason that it defeats its own object by separating the sexes. When the ladies go out, it is desirable that, as with us, they should be accompanied by their male relatives, and not that they should resort to a kind of Anglo-Indian zenana, where the topics of conversation would be concealed from their husbands. Every judicious effort should, however, be encouraged by Anglo-Indians, and I was much pleased to hear that in a few places in the Mofussil high officials are beginning to hold receptions at which native ladies venture to be present.[1]

A very serious obstacle to the emancipation of women is the immorality of some of the native "gentlemen" in the larger cities. Knowing that bigamy cannot be much longer tolerated in a country under our rule,[2] the wealthier married natives are resorting to the practice of keeping mistresses; indeed, I was told by a native lady well acquainted with Hindoo customs, that as soon as a Hindoo is sufficiently rich, it is an object of pride with him to keep up an "establishment" outside of his zenana. This statement may, of course, be taken with limitations, but there must be a considerable amount of truth in it, for I heard it confirmed in various quarters.

"If all the married women were set free to-morrow," said a

[1] I was told by a native barrister that the decisions of the higher Anglo-Indian law courts do much to keep the women in a position of inferiority and stand in the way of social reform. One of those decisions is that a man cannot be charged with rape unless his victim is under ten years of age; others affect the property of women adversely to the sex.

[2] It is quite a mistake to suppose that it does not exist now.

native advocate to me, "there would soon be plenty of employment for us all in the divorce courts."

"True?" exclaimed one of the leading social reformers in India, "I should think it *is* true; they go home, eat a few sweetmeats with their drudges, and then go off and spend the nights with their mistresses."

Still the cause is progressing, but the difficulties are formidable and very disheartening to the noble men and women who are engaged in the work. The wife of a Methodist missionary in the Punjab, a Christian native lady, whose time has been entirely devoted to relieve the condition of women there, in the Central Provinces, and in Bengal, gave me a graphic account of the obstacles they meet with in their mission. I told her that whenever I visited a girls' school, I always inquired what became of the girls after they left school; could she enlighten me as to their subsequent condition?

"Yes," she said. "Education is making great strides amongst the women. Mothers, feeling their own ignorance, make great sacrifices to get their daughters educated. Girls are decidedly improved by education. It does not make Christians of them, but they laugh at Hindoo superstitions and speak of them as 'the old ways.' Educated, and sometimes even uneducated men generally prefer educated women for wives. Against that I often find men who set their faces against our visiting their wives. As a rule, the women are mere playthings and drudges. Their husbands snub them when they express opinions, and when they wish to get out and see life, they tell them they are 'fast.' The women are no companions to their husbands. In only one in a thousand zenanas where I have been is the wife a companion to her husband. They are either above or below them. Many husbands say, 'We don't care that our wives should be better than we are; we want them to cook for us, not to teach us.' Oh! they are very hard on their wives. Women groan under it, and say that the Government could do something to improve their position. And then, you know, they are quite certain that their husbands are insincere. They eat and drink with Europeans, wine included, and then, when they come home, they pretend to be orthodox! The poor wives

know it is all humbug, but they have to wink at it. They know well enough what their husbands do when they are away from them!" And much more she said in the same strain.

But the future of Hindoo women is not all darkness. Coupled with the efforts of educationalists and social reformers, the example set by Parsee ladies and ladies of the reformed Hindoo faith in holding mixed receptions, in attending public meetings of all kinds, and in taking an active part in philanthropic movements, must eventually throw open the doors of the zenana, and unveil the faces of the "*parda*" women of India. In speaking to me on this subject, the enlightened young Gaekwar of Baroda said, "If they" (the men) "want liberty, they must reform their own households." He might with justice have added, that if they desire to associate on terms of equality with the ruling race, and if they wish their posterity to become manly, robust, and courageous, instead of being the weakly race they are at present, looked down upon—for the truth must be told—by the majority of the English in India, and by the warlike semi-barbarians of the North-West, the cultivated Hindoos must raise up wives and mothers who are permitted to lead a natural and healthy life, not shut out from the world and mured up in zenanas, but allowed fresh air, exercise, and contact with the world; they must make them, in fact, what they are with us, the "better halves" and leaders of society.

# CHAPTER V.

## THE PERSIANS AND THE MODERN PARSEES—THE GREEKS AND THE SCYTHIANS IN INDIA.

Herodotus's account of ancient India (521 B.C. to 485 B.C.)—The expedition of Darius—Relics of the Persian occupation—The modern Parsees—Their origin and present numbers—Are they fire-worshippers?—Mr. Naoroji's account of their religious tenets—Monotheism and angel-worship—Association of Parsees and Hindoos—Effect upon the former—Objectionable customs—"Nirang"—Exposure of the dead to vultures—Towers of Silence—General character of the Parsees—Supporters of education and charities—Parsee girls' schools in Bombay—Eminent Parsees—Mr. Malabari and his work—Beneficial influence of Parsees—The Greeks—Expedition of Alexander the Great (327 B.C.)—Alexander and Porus—Sir Alexander Cunningham's account—Cities and colonies founded by Alexander—The Græco-Bactrian kings, about 250 B.C. to about 50 B.C.—Græco-Bactrian coins—Head's description—Various types of faces—Transition from the Greek to the Hindoo type—Greek architectural remains—Description of India by Megasthenes—Interesting account of elephants and their uses—Character and customs of the ancient Indians—Legend of Bacchus—The "Brachmanes" or Brahmins—Cruel practices—Suppers of the ancient Indians—Fables of Megasthenes—Dog-headed men—The Astomi or mouthless men—Their aërial nourishment—Observations on animals—The Greek occupation to-day—Ralli Brothers—The Scythians in India—Their doubtful origin—King Kanishka—Supposed Scythian origin of Buddha—The Getæ—The modern Jats.

LEAVING for the present the consideration of certain Indo-Aryan customs, to which reference will be made in connection with surviving usages, I propose now to say a few words on the partial and temporary occupation of Hindustan by two distinct and one very indistinct nationality—the Persians and Greeks, and the "Scythians." It is from the Persians, or rather from the statements concerning them by the Greek historian Herodotus, as well as from the inscriptions of Darius, that we derive our earliest historical information concerning Hindustan. Herodotus tells us that "most parts of Asia were explored by Darius" (B.C. 521–485), "who, being desirous to know where

the Indus, which is the second of all rivers that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sends in ships both others on whom he can rely to speak the truth, and also a man of Caryanda named Scylax. After their journey Darius subdued the Indians and made use of the sea." He also notes that "the Indians constituted the twentieth division of the Persian Empire, and contributed 360 talents of gold-dust to Darius."[1]

The Persian occupation, it may be assumed, was confined to the Punjab and Sind, and it lasted down to the time of Alexander; but its influence is discernible to a much later date in the construction and ornamentation of Hindoo and Buddhist temples. The capitals on the pillars of some of these temples are very peculiar, resembling those of the palace of Xerxes at Susa, each having two animals sitting back to back.[2] Persian pillars are found in the Buddhist temple at Buddha Gaya (B.C. 250) and elsewhere in India, and the reader will find appended two photographs, one representing a temple dedicated to Phallic worship (Plate VII.), and the other an alt-relief called "The Adoration of Buddha" (Plate XI.), in which the Persepolitan character is clearly distinguishable.[3]

But the most abiding influence of the Persians in India, although not immediately connected with the earlier occupation, is found in the presence of the modern Parsees, concerning whom it will not be inappropriate here to add a few observations; for, small as is their number—according to last year's Statistical Blue-Book only 85,350 in a population of 254,000,000—they are undoubtedly, along with the members of the reformed Hindoo faith, the most enlightened and influential of the whole native community. The Parsees of to-day are not the descendants of the companions of Darius, but of a number of immigrants or exiles from Persia after the Moham-

[1] Herodotus, iv. 44, 2; ibid., iii. 94. See also Rawlinson's "Manual of Ancient History," p. 92, his "Ancient Monarchies," vol. iii. p. 431, and Smith's Classical Dictionary.

[2] Specimens of Persian and Indian capitals are given in vol. v. of the "Archæological Survey of India," in Plates 45–50, by Sir Alexander Cunningham, who has done more than any other investigator to throw light upon the Persian and Greek occupations of India.

[3] For these I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Kipling, the curator of Lahore Museum, and Mr. Mukharji, curator of the Economic Museum, Calcutta.

Maclure, Macdonald & Co., Glasgow.

TEMPLE DEDICATED TO PHALLIC WORSHIP, SHOWING PERSEPOLITAN STYLE

median occupation of that country, who have adhered to the old Zoroastrian faith, whilst their compatriots in Persia itself have, with the exception of a few thousands, gradually adopted that of Islam.

By those who have not made the religions of the East a study the Parsees are called "fire-worshippers;" and although that designation cannot fairly be applied to them, it is difficult to understand what is really their faith, even according to their own accounts.[1] In a recent essay on the subject Mr. Naoroji gives a catechism of the Parsee religion, showing that Zoroaster taught the belief in one Supreme Deity, and he adds the translation of part of what he calls "one of the books" (meaning later Scriptures), in which the morality of the Parsee religion is comprised in three phrases, "pure thought, pure word, pure deed." It is clear from his account that, although the Parsees are monotheists, they also worship angels; not in the Christian sense, but spiritual beings who protect or rule over material substances. The Parsee, he says, does not "ask from an unintelligent material object assistance or benefit; he is therefore no idolater or worshipper of matter;" and when he is addressing the Creator, "he never thinks it necessary that he should turn his face to any particular object;" but, he adds, "when he addresses the angel of water, or any other but that of fire, he does not stand before the fire; it is only when he addresses the angel of fire that he turns his face to the fire. In short, in addressing any particular angel, he turns his face to the object of the angel's guardianship as his emblem."

This explanation does not, however, accord with the Catechism, which says that when the Parsee worships Hormuzd, the worshipper should "turn his face towards some of his creations of light" (naming the sun, moon, stars, fire, water, &c.);[2] and a careful consideration of the accounts given here

[1] The best works on the Parsees are by Dosabhai Framji Karaka (Macmillan), and by Dadabhai Naoroji, "The Manners and Customs of the Parsees" (London: Straker & Sons), and "The Parsee Religion" (reprinted from *Time*, May 1889). Much useful information is also to be found in "Modern India," p. 91 *et seq.*, by Sir Monier Williams, and in Spiegel's "Avesta" (Leipzig: Engelmann). In the last-named there are many references to the original unity of the Indo-Aryans and Persians.

[2] "The Parsee Religion" (from *Time*).

and elsewhere would lead one to believe that the faith has lost its purity, and, like some others, has degenerated into a modified polytheism. To some extent this is due to the association with the vast body of Hindoos, some of whose religious customs have been adopted by the Parsees. Even until quite recently, the author just quoted tells us, "they mixed with the Hindus to such an extent that they became almost assimilated to them, making even offerings at the Hindu temples for several objects." They do so still, and I was told at Bombay that they consider that breadth of religion! Not only in their religious, but in their social customs certain of the Parsees are assimilated with the Hindoos. "When I was Prime Minister of Baroda," says Mr. Naoroji, "a Parsi lady appeared before me on some appeal. I should never have considered her a Parsi had not my attention been expressly called to the fact she was."

They have adopted one religious custom, or rather they practise one, for it appears to have descended from the earliest times, which is as loathsome as it is mischievous in its influence. I mean that of "Nirang," or the use of the urine of the cow, ox, or she-goat, in which the older or conservative Parsees indulge with great regularity. Pious Parsees wash their hands and faces with this filth every morning, and when a child is initiated into the faith at the age of about seven, it is rubbed with "Nirang" and made to drink a little of it. This is not only a disgusting practice in itself—it is believed to drive away the devil, or some such superstitious trash—but it justifies the Brahmins in enforcing still more foul and filthy penances, to which I shall not hesitate to refer hereafter, however distasteful the subject may be, for the sooner all these loathsome practices are fully exposed, the sooner they are likely to be abolished.[1] On one or two occasions I asked enlight-

[1] In his "Biographies of Words" (p. 237), Max Müller tells us that the Parsees of *Persia* are said to mix the juice of certain plants with the nauseous liquid, and the priests drink a few drops of it "every two or three days, and particularly when they have been to an impure place, or have eaten anything prepared by an impure person, and the other Parsis drink a few drops, never more than twelve or sixteen daily, during their Birishnu time of purification." It is also taken on many other occasions.

ened Parsees in India whether they still practised this foul custom, and was glad to receive the reply, "I don't allow such things to be done in my house." There is, however, one usage peculiarly their own, which must appear very objectionable in the eyes of Europeans, namely, the exposure of their dead to birds, and I am told in some places to beasts of prey. Every one knows about the "Towers of Silence," which are a show-place for European visitors to Bombay, and their surroundings are certainly beautiful. Some very poetical accounts of them have been written, but there is another aspect of the matter. The corpse is carried with much ceremony to one of these places, and there is always a number of vultures, as my readers may see them on the accompanying photograph (Plate IV.), waiting to gorge themselves with the flesh of the deceased. Now the reason assigned for this usage is twofold; first, the religious one that the elements of fire and earth, used by other denominations for the disposal of the dead, are too sacred to be polluted by decaying bodies. Why the decaying human body should desecrate the soil more than any other decomposing organic matter, I am unable to understand. But there is another reason, which would be at least more rational if it were consistently carried out. All men are really equal, say the Parsees, and the bones of all should mingle in one common dust. True, and they are likely to do so at one time or another everywhere; but whilst I was visiting the Towers of Silence with a Parsee friend who was explaining to me all matters connected with the ceremony, I could not help noticing one or two towers of comparatively small dimensions. "And what are these?" I asked. "Oh," he said, "these are *private* towers belonging to old Parsee families, and only the members of those families are allowed to be deposited there." So much for the question of "equality." On the other hand, I was assured that some very sickening results often follow these exposures, such as the finding of the hand of a child which had been dropped by one of the horrible birds in the garden of a neighbouring bungalow; and a leading Christian ecclesiastic in Bombay told me that even amongst the Parsees there is a strong feeling rising against the practice, and that a highly respectable

member of the community had deplored to him only a few days previously the necessity that had been forced upon him by custom of exposing his poor wife's body to the birds of prey. But if these customs be repulsive to Europeans, the general character of the Parsees, as I have said, is worthy of the highest admiration. Their various charitable, philanthropic, and educational institutions are exercising a marked influence upon the rising generation, not only of their own sect, but of the natives of the country generally. They have taken a prominent part in the education of women, and a visit to the Parsee girls' schools in Bombay well repays the time it occupies. There is no need to put the question here, which naturally suggests itself when one sees a class of Hindoo girls under instruction, "What will become of these girls when they cease to attend school? Will they be immured in zenanas?" The Parsee girls marry intelligent men in various walks of life, and become the heads of happy homes and the leaders of a refined social circle. At the Alexandra School in Bombay, where there are English teachers, the girls are remarkably intelligent, eager to learn, fairly well up in geography, English and Indian history, and some of them are excellent arithmeticians. Their accomplishments, also, are very creditable, and there is no lack of talent in their musical performances and needlework. In another school, where the girls are prepared for matriculation at Bombay University, the course of instruction and the educational knowledge are less satisfactory, as we shall find to be the case in similar institutions in other parts of India. The girls know little of geography, are very weak indeed in history, weaker still in arithmetic, but study algebra with intense application. The system is to blame, not the students. The wealthy Parsees are giving valuable support to what we should call ragged-schools, but what may with little deviation from the truth be designated "naked-schools," and to numerous other educational institutions. The names of some of the leading Parsees, such as the late Sir Jamsetjee Jeejebhoy, are almost as well known here as in India, but there are others, and notably Mr. Behramji Malabari of Bombay, whose reputation, although it extends from Lahore to Madras, has not yet reached our shores. Mr. Malabari, who

B. M. MALABARI, BOMBAY.

REV. DR. FORMAN, LAHORE.

was a poor child, an orphan, earning his own livelihood at a very early age, now edits the *Indian Spectator*, a highly respectable native paper, and the *Voice of India*, published in London as well as Bombay, and his whole life and property have been devoted to philanthropic and reformatory movements amongst all classes of natives (Plate VIII.). He and other patriotic natives are doing their utmost to impress upon the Government the necessity of interfering to correct the abuses of child-marriage, enforced widowhood, &c., and they are well deserving of every support and encouragement that can be given to them in this country. Indeed, no one who wishes to see our great Eastern dependency happy and prosperous can fail to watch with deep interest the good that is being effected by the example and work of the small but influential Parsee community.

The conquest of Northern India by Alexander the Great, and the subsequent influence of his successors, although not of a permanent character, deserve a passing notice in this place. Every schoolboy knows of the conflict between Alexander and Porus, and every movement of the Greek conqueror has been made the subject of learned dissertation. He entered the Punjab, B.C. 327, somewhere in the north-west, but it is not clear by which of the passes, and found the country inhabited by numerous tribes, living under chiefs who were jealous of each other, and some of whom joined him in his progress. At Jalalpur, on the river Jhelam (Hydaspes), his advance was arrested by the Indian prince Porus, with, it is said, an army consisting of about the same number as that of Alexander, namely 150,000, the Greek army being stronger in cavalry than that of Porus, who had 200 elephants and a great array of war-chariots. According to some writers, however, Alexander had more than double the forces of Porus. The army of Alexander was encamped on the western, that of the Indian prince on the eastern bank of the river; but during the night the former made a detour with part of his forces, and crossed the river higher up. The son of Porus, who was sent to meet him, was killed in the first encounter between the combatants,

and then Porus advanced with his whole army to give battle to the Greeks. The superior generalship of Alexander, and the slow movements of the unwieldy elephants which were opposed to his tried cavalry, soon gave the advantage to the Greeks, and at length the elephants, wounded and frightened, rushed madly about, trampling down friends and foes, spreading consternation in the Indian army, and causing them to take to flight. They were pursued by the Greek cavalry, "who made a dreadful slaughter of the Indians."[1] (It was almost upon the same ground as Alexander had made famous, at Chilianwallah, that our troops sustained such heavy losses, almost amounting to a defeat, in the Sikh war of 1849.)

Alexander, as is well known, built a city, Bukephala, on the scene of the encounter, and restoring his kingdom to Porus, who had surrendered himself, he marched in the direction of the river Ganges. Threatened with a mutiny of his troops, however, who were unable to bear the climate, and by hostile Indian tribes, he was compelled to retrace his steps, and fighting his way back to the Jhelam, he embarked a portion of his army in boats, and with the remainder marched southwards towards Sind, until he reached the junction of the Jhelam and the Indus, where he built Alexandria and left a garrison. Continuing his course southward, he at length arrived at the Indian Ocean, and embarking part of his troops, he sent them home through the Persian Gulf, whilst, with the remainder, he returned through Beluchistan and Persia. In addition to Alexandria (Uchh) and Patala (Haiderabad), the latter near the mouth of the Indus, Alexander built other towns and established colonies in Hindustan, besides leaving military garrisons in various parts. In Bactria especially he left a strong force, and that country was afterwards governed by Greek kings, the first being Seleukos Nikator, who subsequently invaded India and formed a powerful alliance with one of its native princes.

Two or three circumstances connected with the invasion of

[1] The reader will find an excellent account of the battle, and generally of the progress of the Macedonian conqueror, in Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India." The battle is described on pp. 174, 175, and chart facing p. 159.

1.

2.

3.

Maclure, Macdonald & Co., Glasgow.

GRAECO-BACTRIAN COINS.

Alexander lend it a peculiar interest for us at the present day. One is that the so-called Greco-Bactrian kings have left us a most remarkable and interesting series of coins, which throw light upon the government of the country after his departure. They show us that there were about thirty of those rulers, from Diodotus, about 250 B.C., down to Hermæus, about 50 B.C., some of them governing simultaneously districts lying between the upper waters of the Oxus in the north, the Jumna in the east, and the Indus in the south. For some time (about 250 to 150 B.C.), the coins were purely Hellenic in character, the portraits realistic, and on the reverse were the figures of various Greek divinities. Subsequently both the standard and the style changed; the faces assumed the Indian type, the king being probably the offspring of an Indian mother; and whilst the inscription on the obverse continued to be Greek, a translation in Prakrit (secular Sanskrit) was struck upon the reverse. Thanks to the kindness of Mr. Head, of the British Museum, the author of an excellent work on this subject,[1] who has given me casts of some of these coins, I am enabled to give the reader photographs of three of them, which may be considered typical (Plate IX.). The first is that of Demetrius, son of Euthedemus I., who extended his dominions into India about 200 B.C. He is of the Greek type, bearing a strong resemblance to the present Earl of Derby, and he is crowned with the skin of an elephant's head and trunk. The inscription is Greek. The second, Euthedemus II., has exactly the profile of many young Hindoos of to-day, as any one will say who has observed them closely, and the inscription is still in Greek. The third and last, Hermæus, reverts somewhat to the Greek type, and the inscriptions are in Greek and Prakrit. So much for the coins, which supply incontestable proof of the rule of the successors of Alexander in the north of India up to about the Christian era, and of the fusion, at least partial, of the Greek and Hindoo races at that place and period. But there are other evidences of the Greek domination in India in the architectural relics, which have been so ably and minutely

[1] "Historia Numorum," B. V. Head. Oxford, 1887. At page 701 the names of other authorities are given.

described by Sir A. Cunningham, and in the types of face which are to be met with in some of the sculptured figures of North-West India. After the Greek occupation, the Corinthian and Ionic Greek styles were adopted in the Cabul valley and the Punjab, the Indo-Corinthian being the popular style, only one specimen of Indo-Ionic having yet been found.[1]

But the most interesting result, for us, of the Greek occupation is the fragmentary description of the country and people which was written by Megasthenes, who was the ambassador of Seleukos Nikator at the court of Chandragupta, or Sandrokottos, king of the Prasii, an Indian tribe whose capital was at Palimbothra, now Patna.[2] Megasthenes wrote between 302 and 288 B.C., and whilst his account of India contains some amusing fables (chiefly from hearsay), it shows him to have been an acute and intelligent observer. Pages might be filled with the interesting details which he gives of India and its people, but the reader must be content with a few brief particulars, and he will find the work itself well deserving of perusal. According to Megasthenes, India in his day was of a quadrilateral shape; "the extent of the whole country from east to west is said to be about 28,000 stadia, from north to south 32,000."[3] Its eastern and western side were bounded by "the great sea," on the north was "Mount Hemodos," and on the western side also "the river called the Indus, which is perhaps the largest of all the rivers in the world after the Nile." After describing the mountains, the vast plains, which were then already irrigated by artificial means, and the rivers, he speaks of the products of the soil, and tells us that two crops were gathered annually. Describing the various kinds of animals, beasts of the field, and fowls of the air, he dwells par-

[1] Sir A. Cunningham. See his plates of Ionic capital and base, vol. v., Plate xviii., "Archæological Survey of India;" and Ionic base, vol. xiv., Plate vii., same work.

[2] "Ancient India, as described by Megasthenes and Arrian," by J. W. M'Crindle (Bombay, Thacker; London, Trübner). See also "Ancient India," by Ktesias.

[3] This is about 3200 by 3630 miles. In Sir A. Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India," other measurements are given; and the upper figure on Plate ii. represents the country from descriptions of that period.

ticularly upon the elephant, always a source of wonder to the Western nations:—

"The war elephant," he says, "either in what is called the tower or on his bare back, in south carries three fighting men, of whom two shoot from the side, while one shoots from behind. There is also a fourth man who carries in his hand a goad, wherewith he guides the animal, much in the same way as a pilot or captain of a ship directs its course with the helm."

Much more information is given about the elephant, which was captured by being enticed into an enclosure by means of females, and "then introducing the strongest of the tame fighting elephants, they fight it out with the wild ones, whom at the same time they enfeeble with hunger."

The inhabitants of India are described as tall, and distinguished by their proud bearing (as they are still in the North-West); and the presence of gold, silver, copper, and iron is mentioned, from which metals they make articles of use and ornament, "as well as the implements and accoutrements of war." Their double harvest gave them an ample food-supply, which was not interfered with by war, as they did not ravage the enemy's territory nor interfere with agricultural labour. He says the country was peopled with diverse races, "of which not even one was originally of foreign descent, but all were evidently indigenous;" scouts the idea of the country having been invaded by the Persians, but, on the authority of learned men, recounts how Dionysus (Bacchus) at the head of a large army "marched to every part of the world," and entering India, overran the whole of it; and among his other works there, such as founding cities, taught them (the Indians) "the way to make wine, as well as other arts conducive to human well-being." His accounts of the plants, animals, and natives are often obviously correct. For example, he describes the "Brachmanes" (Brahmins):—

"Who live in simple style, lie on beds of rushes or skins, abstain from animal food and sexual pleasures, and spend their time in listening to serious discourse and in imparting their knowledge to such as will listen to them. After living in this manner for seven-and-thirty years, each individual returns to his own property, where he lives for the rest of his days in ease and secularity."

This account of the ascetics of that time, whom he calls

"Hylobioi," agrees to a considerable extent with what are known to have been their practices. The people he calls frugal, honest, and sober, except at sacrifices; they drank a liquor prepared from rice, and lived chiefly on "rice-pottage." At the same time they loved finery and ornament: "their robes were worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones; and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin." Cotton was well known to them, and is described by the Greek writer as "wool which grows upon trees." The punishments for crime were, as usual with uncivilised races, very barbarous: "a person convicted of bearing false witness suffers mutilation of his extremities," &c. The custom, already mentioned in the chapter on women, of guarding the kings' harems with women within and soldiers without, was already in vogue, but queens seem to have murdered their husbands "when drunk," and to have become the wives of the successor. Many of the Indian usages in the time of Megasthenes appear to have been handed down almost unchanged to the present time, and there is one domestic custom mentioned by him to which I would like to refer, namely, the "suppers of the Indians," as I was privileged to participate in a similar one in a Hindoo home, of which a description will be found in a future chapter. "When the Indians are at supper," says Megasthenes, "a table is placed before each person, this being like a tripod. There is placed upon it a golden bowl, into which they first put rice, boiled as one would boil barley, and then they add many dainties prepared according to Indian receipts."

The work of Megasthenes, although generally trustworthy, contains some amusing fables which are related as sober fact, but as already stated, these are chiefly from hearsay. There was a race of men, he tells us, having heads like those of dogs, whose speech is barking, and who, armed with claws, live by hunting and fowling; another who, instead of nostrils, have merely orifices, whose legs are contorted like snakes. Then there were the Astomi, "who had no mouth . . . and merely lived by breathing, and by the perfumes inhaled through the nostrils." They ate nothing, and drank nothing, merely requir-

ing a variety of odours of roots, of flowers, and of wild apples. (These surely must have been a higher and less carnal race than we are.) Some of his stories of fabulous animals are even more remarkable than his human varieties, but it is only fair to add that many of his observations upon these serve to show that he had received information containing a proportion of truth, and that most of the fabulous creatures have been suggested by some form still existing either on the mainland or on the island of Ceylon (Taprobani).

The only approach to a "Greek occupation" in India to-day is to be found in the marvellous commercial organisation of Messrs. Ralli Brothers, of which the ramifications are spread over nearly the whole of India. I am afraid to say how many persons of all ranks, from managers to labourers, they employ at their various agencies, lest I should be accused of exaggeration, and I must, therefore, confine myself to the expression, many thousands.[1]

The connection of the so-called Scythians with Hindustan is not so interesting as that of the Persians and Greeks. In speaking of the aborigines of India, I mentioned that a Turanian race, whose descendants are still to be found on the north-eastern slopes of the Himalayas, probably worked its way through the north-eastern passes; but it is almost certain that at a much later period such a tribe or tribes entered India from Central Asia through the north-west passes, and put an end to what is known as the Græco-Bactrian rule in the Punjab. As a matter of fact, nothing authentic is known of these "Scythians" until they had firmly established themselves in India, that is to say, until the time of King Kanishka, and even his chronology is somewhat obscure.[2]

[1] It is to the lady of one of the members of this firm, a talented amateur, that I am indebted for some of my photographs, as I was to the firm itself for valuable introductions to their agents in different parts of India.

[2] Sir A. Cunningham ("Ancient Geography of India," p. 99) says that Kanishkapura was built by Kanishka "just *before* the beginning of the Christian era." Sir William Hunter ("Indian Empire," p. 147) fixes the fourth Buddhist council assembled under Kanishka at 40 A.D. (?), and says that he reigned "in the first century after Christ;" whilst Schroeder, quoting Lassen ("Indien's Literatur," p. 310), says he was crowned A.D. 78.

Buddha is supposed by some authors to have been a Scythian, or of Scythian descent, but really all that is known of any consequence concerning the occupation of the Scythians is that their influence began at an indefinite period before the Christian era; that there were Scythian "kings" in various parts of Northern India; and that they have left traces of their rule in the shape of coins and reliefs. The reader will here find a photograph of such a stone bas-relief, which I obtained at the Museum at Lahore, and of which there is a cast in the Indian Museum at South Kensington. All the information I could get was that the figure represents "a Scythian king," but who he was or when he reigned, I was unable to ascertain. Judging from this example of one of their "kings," the Scythians of India must indeed have been a warlike race of barbarians (Plate X.).

At the present time the chief descendants of the Scythians are believed to be the Jats, or peasantry of the Punjab. They are supposed to have had as ancestors the Getæ, one of the races of Asiatic barbarians, of which a branch migrated westward, and whom we find settled on the Danube as far back as the fourth century before Christ.[1] The modern Jats, to whom a passing reference has been made in connection with the practice of polyandry, have been called the "yeomen peasants of the Punjab,"[2] who, according to the last returns, number a population of 4,432,570, and from whom some of the best soldiers of our native army are recruited.

These are some of the more interesting details concerning the three nations whom we find prominent during the few centuries preceding the Christian era, but concurrently with them, and for some time afterwards, the character and customs of the Indian people were greatly influenced by the Buddhist supremacy, to which we must now direct our attention.

[1] For an account of the Getæ, see "Roumania, Past and Present" (by the author), pp. 115–117. Philip & Son.

[2] Watt in the article on the Ethnology of India in the Catalogue of the Indian Exhibition, 1886, p. 189.

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A SCYTHIAN KING.

# CHAPTER VI.

## THE BUDDHIST SUPREMACY IN INDIA.

Development of the religious faculty in India and elsewhere—Demonolatry, anthropomorphism, and rationalism—Brahma and the Brahminical trinity, Brahma, Vishnu, Siva—Buddha, his birth (622 B.C. or 560 B.C.)—His career—The "Great Renunciation"—His ministry and death (543 B.C. or 480 B.C.)—His precepts—Writers on his life—Buddhism and Christianity—Buddha's prohibitions—Oriental and Catholic monachism—The "Adoration of Buddha," a remarkable Relief—Its resemblance to Christian emblems—"Nirvana"—Contradictory views regarding it—Comparison of Buddhist and modern ideas of heaven—The modern Buddhist trinity—Modern views of "Nirvana"—Are Buddhists idolaters?—Jain image-worship at Ahmedabad, &c.—The tooth-relic of Ceylon—Dr. Da Cunha's account of it—Worshipped by priests—Sir E. Arnold's and Dr. Davy's views—Buddhism after the prophet's death—Buddhist councils—Asoka, king of Bihar—Kanishka's council and the Tripitaka—Spread of Buddhism into China, &c.—Chinese pilgrims—Hwen-Thsang (A.D. 629)—His pilgrimage into India—Translation of his travels by Julien—Buddhists and Jains to-day—Hindoo view of Buddha, and Buddhist view of Christ.

SIR WILLIAM HUNTER says that "the Aryans in India worshipped, first as they feared, then as they admired, and finally as they reasoned;"[1] and this statement of the development of the religious faculty extends, as it seems to me, to the whole human race. As it has often been shown, demonolatry, or the conciliatory worship of beings who are supposed to afflict mankind, has been, and is still the prevailing religion of the most barbarous races, and (as in the case of the Parsee Nirang, and of one of the chief Hindoo festivals of to-day—the Dewāli) the object of some of the religious ceremonies in communities which do not consider themselves uncivilised is either to conciliate or to exorcise the evil one. Then the highest anthropomorphic conception of the deity has been based on admiration and wonder; but notwithstanding the warnings and

[1] "The Indian Empire," p. 58.

protests of the ignorant, who are content to believe and to worship blindly as their fathers did before them, the most exalted ideal of the Almighty so far attained has been the result of the reasoning and reflective faculties; and, as Kingsley has said, "the demands of reason must be and ought to be satisfied." In India the exercise of the reasoning faculty in seeking to understand the nature of the Deity has been coupled in a marked degree with the aspiration after good—the desire to give practical effect to the injunction, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" but unfortunately it is there also that are to be found the greatest extremes of atheism, idolatry, and sensuality.

The Vedic gods of India, with their human attributes and vices, gave place in the course of time to a higher conception of the deity as Brahma the Creator, who was however too distant and abstract an object of worship to satisfy the religious wants of the Hindoos. Then followed the triad or trinity, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; but, as we have already seen, Vishnu had already appeared side by side with Indra in the Vedas, and it must not be supposed that the worship of the trinity followed in immediate succession to that of the Vedic Pantheon. Moreover, although Vishnu, or rather his various incarnations, the chief of which were Krishna and Rama, practically succeeded Brahma in the religious affections of the people, Brahma was long the supreme godhead, and was especially the friend and protector of Buddha, the enlightened.

That prophet, whose mission on earth was to check Brahminical immorality and worldliness, and by his own example to promote righteousness and self-sacrifice, and who is now practically worshipped as a deity, was born at Kapilavastu in the north of Oudh. The date of his birth is very uncertain, for, according to some authorities, he was born in 622 B.C. and died 543 B.C., whilst others place his birth at 560 B.C. and his death at 477 (or 480 B.C.). A few writers indeed throw doubt upon his ever having existed as an individual. He was the son of the king or chief of his country, one of the Sakya clan, and of the family of Gautama, and his mother was the daughter of another chief or king, and she is said to have died immediately

after his birth. From his childhood the young Gautama is said to have been of a reflective disposition, and he was at an early age married to Gopâ, a young princess, probably after the holding of a Swayamvara, for we are told that the young prince distanced all his rivals in the use of the bow. This occurred at the age of nineteen (according to some authorities at fourteen), and for many years he led a happy life so far as his domestic relations were concerned, a son having been born to him; but his heart was greatly moved by the human suffering and misery which he saw around him. Probably about ten years after he was married he left his home, renouncing his titles and his wealth, and wandered forth as a religious mendicant: this act is called "the Great Renunciation." In the capacity of a recluse or an ascetic, he is found at one time attending the ministrations of famous Brahmins, and next, quitting them, dissatisfied with their teachings, he wanders about alone, fasting and submitting to various acts of penance. But neither the doctrines of the Brahmins nor their asceticism satisfied his yearnings after salvation, and it was only on his arrival at a village,[1] or in a forest[2] called Uruvilva or Uruwela, under a bo-tree, near which Buddha-Gaya was afterwards built, that he received the light to which he had so long aspired. Then it was that he saw before him, and afterwards proclaimed to thousands of his disciples, the eightfold path that leads to "Nirvana,"—"True faith, true resolve, true speech, righteous deed, righteous life, righteous effort, righteous thought, real self-sacrifice."

Buddha probably died at a ripe old age near Kusa-Nagara[3] (or Kusinara), which was situated about half-way between the present Gorakhpur and Ajodhya (both on the Bengal and North-Western Railway), near Fyzabad, and the latter town, namely Ajodhya, as the supposed birthplace of Rama, is now one of the favourite places of resort of Hindoo as well as Buddhist pilgrims.

With regard to the life of Gautama Buddha, I have purposely

[1] Max Muller's "Chips," vol. i. p. 24.

[2] Hardy's "Eastern Monachism," p. 3. Partridge, 1850.

[3] See map facing, p. 388 in Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India."

confined this sketch of it to a brief paragraph, for two reasons: first, my object is rather to speak of the influence of Buddhism on later faiths than to become a historian of the great prophet and reformer; and secondly, because it can hardly be expected that any popular writer should successfully rival such learned commentators as Oldenburg, Kern, Van Koppen, Max Müller, Burnouf, St. Hilaire, Spence Hardy, and a host of others, who have made the subject a special study, or Sir Edwin Arnold, whose "Light of Asia" ranks as one of the finest epics of our age. Numerous legends cluster about the life and wanderings of Buddha, and some of them, such as his temptation under the fig-tree, when he received his final inspiration, remind one forcibly of the experiences of Jesus during his ministry many centuries afterwards. Indeed, the links which connect Buddhism and Christianity, especially Roman Catholic Christianity, are most remarkable and interesting. The prohibitions of Buddha were more far-reaching than those of Jesus. Not to kill any living creature; not to covet nor seize one's neighbour's possessions, nor his wife; not to lie; not to take intoxicating drinks—these were his chief injunctions, and they were mainly directed to the priestly class, whilst the first and last prohibitions are respected by the Hindoos of the present day. The whole monastic system of the Middle Ages is derived from Buddhist (and pre-Buddhist) asceticism, and an excellent account of the latter system and of its votaries is to be found in Hardy's work on the subject.[1] Still more interesting is the emblematical association between the two faiths. If the reader will look at the accompanying photograph of a relief in the Lahore Museum (Plate XI.), called the "Adoration of Buddha," he cannot fail to be struck with its remarkable resemblance to similar objects forming part of the Roman Catholic, and even of Protestant worship. It was found during the excavations of the Swat River Canal, at the village of Mohammed Nari, in the Eusofzai country, on the Peshawar frontier, and is considered to be a production of the second century of our era. Buddha is represented seated enthroned on a lotus, and a votive wreath is held over his head by flying

[1] Eastern Monachism.

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THE ADORATION OF BUDDHA.

"Devas." The tabernacle-work is akin to Gothic, as may be seen in the Gothic-looking structures with the Persepolitan arches, already referred to in the last chapter. There are several kings or saints with haloes in different parts of the sculpture, and many of the figures are in the attitude of adoration, just as we see them in Christian religious works of art.[1] This and many other similar objects of worship have left little doubt in the minds of reflecting observers that the emblems and much of the religious system of Christianity had their origin in the pre-existing Buddhist faith.[2]

The heaven of Buddha, "Nirvana," has been the subject of endless controversy. Some writers consider it to have been annihilation or extinction,[3] and Buddha himself to have been an atheist or an "adevist."[4] Sir Edwin Arnold, who held long conversations with Buddhist priests on the subject, emphatically dissents from both these statements. He says, "The great teacher never did deny the Supreme Being, but merely declared Him past finding out by the sense, and knowledge; . . . and I have also maintained that Nirvana is by no means annihilation, but life beyond the life of the senses."[5] So far as his being an "adevist" is concerned, it is no proof of his atheism, for his mind may simply have revolted against the polytheism of his age; but I am bound to say that a comparison of numerous texts has led me to the same conclusion as Sir Edwin Arnold, although here and there expressions are found favouring the view that Nirvana means annihilation.

In the Dhammapada, a canonical book of the Buddhists, "Nirvana" is variously spoken of as "immortality," contradistinguished from "death;" as "the highest happiness" (repeatedly); as the "perfect state;" as "separation from the world." In one place it is said: "Some people are born

[1] I am greatly indebted for this photograph and the accompanying explanation to Mr. Kipling of the Lahore Museum, who is always ready to inform and assist visitors in their investigations.

[2] According to Bock, "Temples and Elephants," p. 209; the Buddhist ceremonial in Siam is almost identical with that of the Roman Catholics to-day.

[3] *E.g.* Fausböll; the Sutta-Nipata, p. x. ("Sacred Books of the East," ed. Max Müller), Explanation of Words, says, "'Nibbana,' extinction; the state of bliss of the Buddhist."

[4] Max Müller, "Chips" and other works, and in a letter to the author.

[5] "India Revisited," p. 271. Trübner.

again; evil-doers go to hell; righteous people go to heaven; those who are free from all worldly desires attain Nirvana." In another, "The unchangeable place, where they will suffer no more."[1] And even in the Sutta-Nipata, translated by Fausböll, who believes Nirvana to mean annihilation, that condition is spoken of as "the supreme good;" the "best in this world;" "the immortal peace;" "the unchangeable state;" "the true;" "what is exceedingly pure;" "the place where there is no dispute;" and the very phrases which might be construed into "annihilation" apply just as much to continued existence; as, for example, "Let him learn his own extinction" (of his desires); "the destruction of passion is the imperishable state, the destruction of decay and death."[2]

Whatever may have been the ancient views on these subjects, it is of more consequence to us to know what are the present faith and doctrines of the Buddhists. Any person who likes to take up isolated sayings, such as "Where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest," and to apply them generally, may argue that the heaven of modern Christians and Buddha's Nirvana are identical.[3] As a matter of fact, the Paradise of most men is, and always has been, the place he would like to go to the best. All I could learn in India that is authentic concerning the modern Buddhist faith in that country may be summed up in a couple of sentences. As to their deity, he is a trinity or triad. Buddha, the supreme intelligence; Dharma, the scriptures; and Samgha, the communion of saints; and in regard to Nirvana, the Northern view, in Tibet, &c., is that it is an existence without suffering; whilst the Southern, in Siam, is a negation of existence.[4]

[1] "Dhammapada" (Müller's edition), cap. ii. p. 9, v. 21;—v. 23, 32, 126, 225.

[2] "Sutta-Nipata" (same edition), pp. 10, 16, 24, 127, 143, 171, 178, 202, 203.

[3] What is the following but annihilation? I have taken it from the advertisement of deaths in a newspaper,—it is typical of thousands of announcements: "(The name of the deceased).—In memoriam. At ——, Sarah, the beloved wife of ——, who went to her *eternal rest*, 5 August 1887."

[4] Even this is somewhat doubtful. In his account of Siam, "Temples and Elephants," p. 202, Carl Bock says that although "by some the word Nirvana is interpreted to mean 'non-existence'" (p. 212), the leading local authority on Siamese Buddhism told him that "it means a place of comfort where there is no care." Practically the popular Christian heaven.

Beyond that I could not ascertain anything that was clear to me concerning the creed of the enlightened amongst the Buddhists, for

"Who with another's eye can read
Or worship with another's creed."

But on the far more practical questions, Are the whole community of Buddhists idolaters? Do they worship images and relics, or are these mere emblems of an invisible divinity? the information is more definite. After describing one or two features of Buddhism in India, I shall leave the reader to judge for himself. At Ahmedabad there is one of the best known Buddhist temples in India. (Strictly speaking, it is a Jain temple, but that is a mere question, and a debatable one, of the origin of that sect of Buddhists, and the form of worship is typical of Buddhism.) So far as architectural details are concerned, it is almost perfect; and the pavement of inlaid marble is perhaps the finest in India. Inside, the visitor will find a magnificent polished marble image of Buddha with eyes and ornaments of gems, and on either side of him are images of attendant saints, whilst below in the vaults of the temple there are numerous shrines of saints. These objects are worshipped precisely as the Vaishnavites and Sivaites worship *their* images.[1] Again, in Ceylon is the well-known *dalada*, or tooth-relic of Buddha. (That I have not seen, and only write from hearsay and from authentic works.) It is believed to have been snatched from the funeral pyre at Kusa-Nagara, and if the reader wishes to know all about its subsequent history and adventures, including its disintegration, pulverisation, and destruction by fire at Goa (!), and the various miracles which it performed before its arrival in its present sanctuary, he cannot do better than read Dr. Da Cunha's interesting memoir,[2] and the poetical account of it by Sir Edwin Arnold in "India Revisited." This tooth is not alone a sacred relic, but, according to the accounts of the most trustworthy writers, it is an object of worship. On one occasion,

[1] In Siam, Buddha is worshipped as a god, and offerings are made to him daily. See "Temples and Elephants," pp. 208-209.

[2] "Memoir on the History of the Tooth-Relic of Ceylon," by J. G. Da Cunha. London: Thacker. 1875.

after it had been exhibited to some English ladies and gentlemen, it was shown to the priests, "Who, like a poor man finding a precious stone, beheld it with ardent looks and inexpressible joy, crying out Sadhu, Sadhu, and worshipping it."[1] Sir Edwin Arnold says, "It is not the least like a human tooth, and more resembles that of a crocodile or large pig;"[2] whilst Dr. Davy described it as a piece of discoloured ivory slightly curved, nearly two inches in length, and one in diameter, and unhesitatingly declared it to be an imposition. It is true that we have image-worship, relic-worship (or something nearly akin to it), and religious impostures in the Western creeds, and this is one of the disadvantages under which Christian missionaries labour when they encounter Buddhists and other Eastern sectaries in polemical discussions.

The Buddhist supremacy in India lasted from the prophet's death down to about the Christian era, and gradually declined from that period until the Mohammedan ascendancy about the eleventh century. In the interim many kings or chiefs had adopted it as the state religion, and had founded numerous temples in different parts of India. Several Buddhist councils were held, the more important of these being one shortly after the prophet's death, another about 242 B.C. which was called by Asoka, king of Bihar.[3] That king gave a great impulse to the spread of Buddhism, as many existing inscriptions on pillars, caves, and rocks testify; but the most important of all the councils was that of the Scythian monarch Kanishka, about 40 B.C. It was at this council that the Buddhist scriptures, or canonical writings, which had been gradually accumulating under previous councils, and are known as the Tripitaka, or "Three Baskets," were brought into the definite form in which they are still used by the Northern Buddhists.

During the centuries succeeding the Christian era, whilst Buddhism lost ground in India, it spread rapidly through Tibet, China, and other Asiatic countries, and three Chinese

[1] Da Cunha, p. 61.

[2] "India Revisited," p. 180.

[3] For dates of Buddhist councils, &c., see Max Müller's "Dhammapada," p. xxxix.

pilgrims visited India, namely, Fa-Hian, at the close of the fourth century, Sung-Yun, at the beginning of the sixth, and Hwen-Thsang, who spent about fifteen years in the country, commencing A.D. 629, and after visiting nearly every Buddhist shrine there, returned to his own country in the year 645 A.D. The travels of Hwen-Thsang were translated first from Sanskrit into Chinese, and then from that language into French by M. Stanislas Julien in 1853–57;[1] and the reader will find an interesting account of them, with four excellent maps, in Cunningham's "Ancient Geography;" as also a valuable essay on the "Buddhist Pilgrims" in Max Müller's well-known "Chips from a German Workshop."

At the present day, in our territories, Buddhism is chiefly confined to Burmah, Assam, the Bengal Presidency, and Ceylon; and according to the census of 1881, their total number was 3,418,895, of whom about 3,250,000 were in British Burmah alone. Irrespective of these, there were about 1,200,000 Jains, chiefly in the Bombay Presidency and Rajputana, the Jains being a sect or offshoot of Buddhists, who consider themselves to be of higher ancestry, worship Buddha and saints in independent temples, and believe that the doctrine of the transmigration of souls enjoins upon them great sympathy and tenderness for the lower animals. By the Hindoos, Buddha is regarded as one of the incarnations of Vishnu, but an evil one; and the Buddhists themselves acknowledge Christ as a great prophet. Of the probable effect of the contact of these three religions in the East, something will be said hereafter.

[1] Williams & Norgate, publishers.

# CHAPTER VII.

## THE MOHAMMEDAN CONQUEST OF INDIA.

Division of India into Hindustan and Dekhan—Origin of names—Early Mohammedan dynasties—Kutab-ud-din and his minaret (1206 A.D.)—Firuz Tuglak and his public works (1357 A.D.)—Invasion of Hindustan by Tamerlane (1398 A.D.)—Babar, founder of the Mughal (Mogul) dynasty (1482 A.D.)—Invades India and establishes himself at Delhi—His successors—Humayun—Akbar the Great (1555 A.D.)—Extension of Mughal territory—Akbar's policy—*Divide et impera*—The present British policy—Its results under the Mughals—Akbar's ministers—His revenue, compared with present British revenue—Intrigues in his family—Removal of the capital to Agra—His palaces at Fathpur Sikri—His death (1605 A.D.)—His successor, Selim or Jahangir—Story of his marriage with Nur Jahan, and her supremacy—His debauched habits—Curious coin of his reign—Arrival of Sir Thomas Roe, the first English ambassador—His reception, and concessions made to him—Death of Jahangir—Shah Jahan—Disposes of his rivals—His public edifices—The Taj-Mahal at Agra—Description of it by daylight and moonlight—The dark side of the story—Treatment and fate of the workmen—The Jama Masjid at Delhi—Bakshish—A prophet's relics—Other buildings of Shah Jahan—His illness—Conflict between his sons—Success of Aurungzeb—Murder of his brothers—Imprisonment and treatment of his father, Shah Jahan—Proclamation of Aurungzeb—Death of Shah Jahan—Aurungzeb's conquests—His unsuccessful wars with the Marathas—Guerilla warfare—Sivaji and his son Sambhaji—Death of Aurungzeb (1706 A.D.)—His son Bahadur Shah—Aurungzeb's treatment of the Hindoos, and its results.

FROM the decline of Buddhism and its supercession by modern Hinduism in India until the Mohammedans had secured a permanent foothold in the country (about 1526 A.D.), there is little to interest the popular reader, and certainly little to narrate that has exercised any permanent influence upon the nation. India or Hindustan, as we understand it to-day, might, in the mediæval period, with convenience be roughly divided into Hindustan in the north and Dekhan on the south of the Vindhya Hills, with the Narbada and Mahanadi rivers as the boundary. Hindustan is believed by some authorities to have derived its name from the Sindhu or Indus; by others

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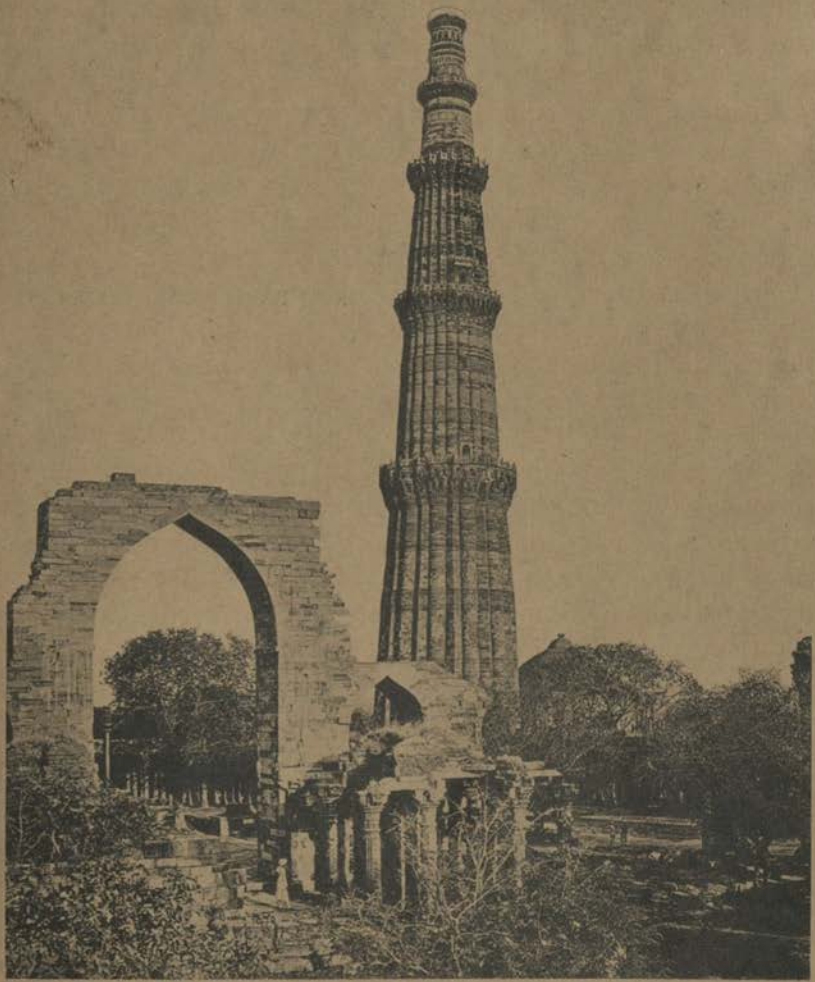

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THE KUTUB MINAR, NEAR DELHI.

from "Hind," a supposed son of Ham, and "Stan" (or Sthan), a place; whilst the Southern name Deccan or Dekhan is from the Sanskrit "Dakshin," the south country.

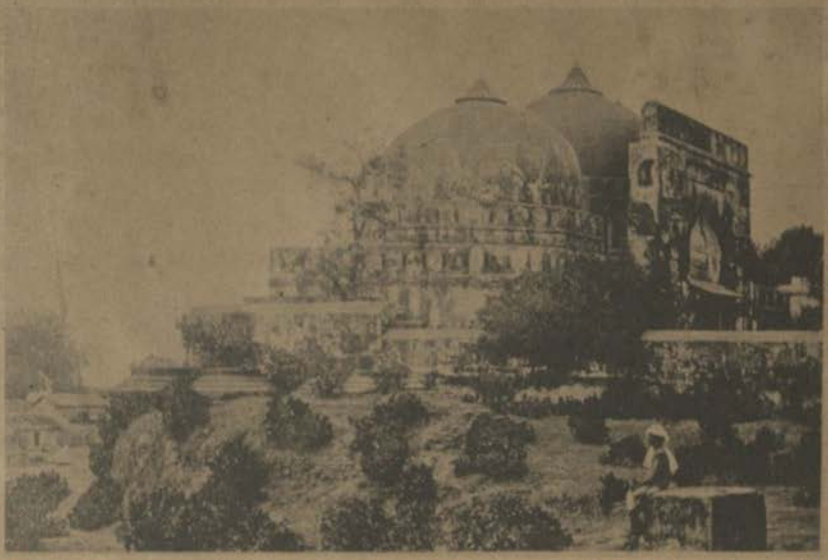
Although the kings of the north frequently carried their arms south of the Vindhyas, the operations of the invaders, who poured their hordes from time to time from Central Asia into the fertile plains of Hindustan, and those of the permanent settlers, were chiefly confined to the northern portion. Between the years 1000 and 1526 A.D. there were no less than eight distinct dynasties of Afghan, Turki, and Mogul (or Mughal) invaders. One of these dynasties was founded by Kutab-ud-din (1200 A.D.), who was first a slave, and finally the viceroy of Muhammud of Ghor, and who seized the throne and established his court at Delhi. His reign has been commemorated by the celebrated minaret, the Kutub Minár, and the adjacent mosque, situated about eleven miles from Delhi. The mosque is in ruins, but the minaret is still almost perfect, and rises to a height of 238 feet. It is built of red sandstone, faced in some parts with white marble, and bears numerous inscriptions; it has five galleries in the ascent, and was formerly crowned with a cupola (Plate XII.). Another king, Ala-ud-din, belonging to what is known as the Khilji dynasty, having murdered his uncle, the reigning sovereign, usurped the throne, and successfully repelled several Mughal invasions. He captured many chiefs and inflicted numberless barbarities upon them, such as have characterised all Indian warfare, down to the last Sepoy mutiny. He subsequently invaded and temporarily occupied the Dekhan. A member of another (the Tuglak) dynasty, called Firuz, 1357 A.D., lost the Dekhan, but improved his own territories by the erection of tanks, caravanseries, and mosques, and by the construction of roads, bridges, and waterways, including the old Jumna Canal. A mediæval writer says that during his reign of thirty-nine years (some say thirty-seven years) he "built fifty great sluices, a hundred palaces, five hospitals, a hundred bridges and many other public works." In 1398 Tamerlane, whose descendants afterwards occupied the throne, invaded Hindustan through the north-west passes of the Himalayas, and at the head of his Tartar hordes penetrated to Delhi. After having defeated the reigning

king, Mahmud of Tughlak, he entered that city, massacred the greater portion of the male inhabitants, and carried off the women and children as slaves to his own country. Some writers say he retired from India almost immediately after the capture of Delhi, whilst others assert that he remained between three and four years in the country.[1]

Babar or Baber, the real founder of the Mogul dynasty, was born in 1482, and was, according to certain authorities, the fourth,[2] whilst others say he was the sixth in descent from Tamerlane.[3] He was at first the ruler of a small kingdom on the Jaxartes (Sir Daria), but having gradually extended his dominions over other parts of Central Asia and Cabul, he at length invaded Hindustan. This he did four times unsuccessfully, but on the fifth he penetrated to Lahore, and having subsequently (1526 A.D.) defeated the ruler of Delhi—Ibrahim II., of the tribe and dynasty of Lodi—at Panipat, between Lahore and Delhi, near the latter place, he took possession of his throne, on which he managed, in the course of about twelve months, firmly to establish himself. One of the most interesting relics of Babar's reign is his mosque at Ajodhya, of which a photograph is here given (Plate XIII.). He is said to have remained some time there in 1528 to settle the country.[4] Baber was succeeded in 1530 by his son Humayun, who was temporarily driven from his throne and out of the country by Sher-Shah, an Afghan usurper; but after the death of the latter, who was killed, Humayun returned and reigned until 1555. He was followed by his son Akbar, called the Great, then only fourteen years of age, who reigned nearly fifty years, and extended the Mughal Empire in every direction—eastward through Bengal, north-west to Cabul and Candahar, along the whole base of the Himalayas and into Kashmir on the north, and even south of the Narbada River into Kandeish and Berar.

Before speaking of the condition of the Hindoo people under Akbar the Great, it will be as well to refer briefly to his reign

[1] *Vide* "Bernier's Travels," vol. ii., Appendix.
[2] Lethbridge.
[3] Monier Williams, Hunter, Bernier, &c.
[4] See "Historical Sketch of Fyzabad," by P. Carnegy; Lucknow, Oude Government Press, 1870, p. 21.



RUINS OF BABAR'S MOSQUE, AT AJODHYA.

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THE TAJ MAHAL AGRA, FROM THE RIVER JUMNA.

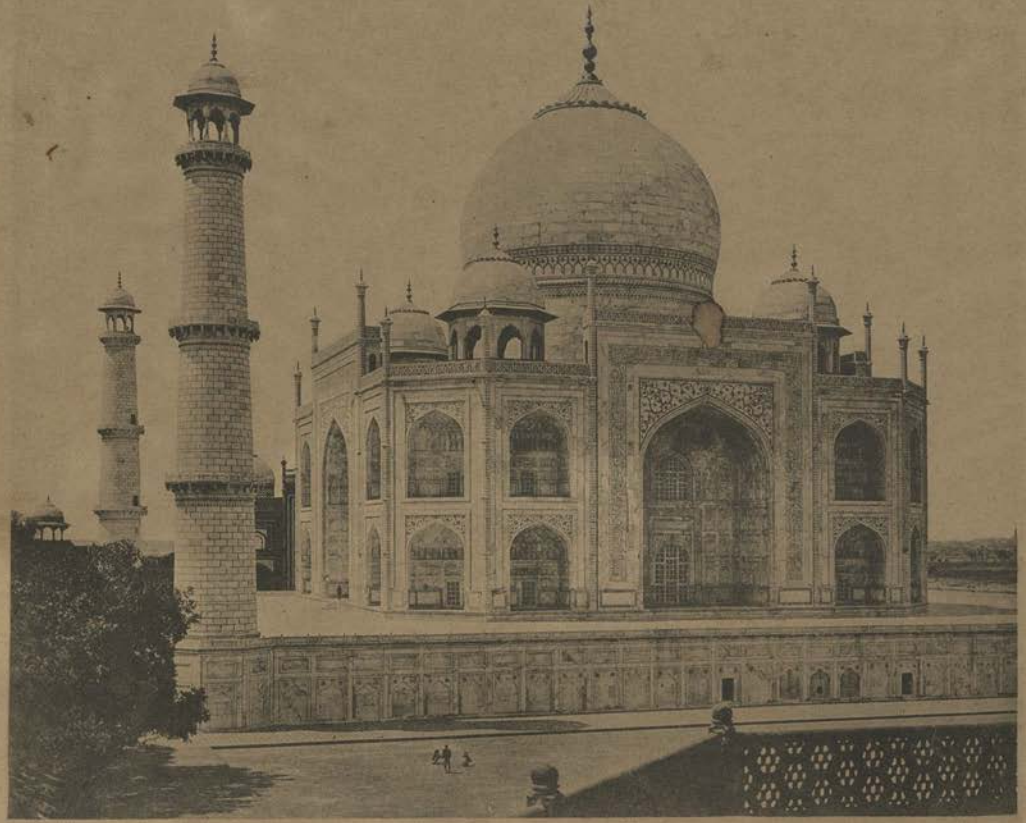
and to those of his three successors—Selim or Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurungzeb, who were his son, grandson, and great-grandson, for it was during those reigns that the Mughal Empire attained its flourish, and after the death of the last-named, Aurungzeb, it rapidly declined.

In reviewing the condition of women, reference was made to the fact that Akbar, by his matrimonial alliances, succeeded in securing support for his throne amongst the many independent princes who were scattered over India. Amongst other measures which he took with the same object, one was the promotion of Hindoos to high office, and another the fostering of rivalry between Mohammedans and Hindoos. The principle of *divide et impera* is being followed by many high officials—I will not say by the Government—of India at the present time, and is openly defended by them as necessary for the safety of the English rule in that country. It seems to me to be the most dangerous double-edged weapon that could be employed for such an end. Through the means named, however, Akbar managed to form a feudal aristocracy, who served him in time of war, and swelled his revenues by tribute; but at a later period these same chiefs or princes hastened the downfall of the Mughal power in the country. Akbar endeavoured to place the various religious denominations on an equality, and, to vary the old saying a little, he himself was all things to all gods. It is said that he allowed himself to be worshipped as a deity, and, as we shall see presently, there was much truth in the assertion.[1] His government was greatly aided by a capable Hindoo finance minister, the well-known Todar Mall, and his revenues are stated to have amounted to about 42 millions sterling. Of this sum about 17½ millions were raised by a tax of one-third of the gross produce of the land, based upon a ten years' settlement. On the question of the present revenue something will be said in the second part of this work, but an interesting comparison is that between the revenues of the two periods. Of course Akbar's sources of revenue did not cover the whole

[1] There is nothing in the least remarkable in this. A friend of mine, on whose statement I place full reliance, a planter who formerly resided in the north of India, told me that he gave the people about him his photograph when he was leaving, and he was much amused to find that a place was found for it in their Pantheon; in other words, it became an object of worship to them.

of India of to-day, but, on the other hand, they included Kabul. To-day the total revenue of British India, exclusive of that derived from railways and public works, is 54,482,131 tens of rupees, of which 23,055,724 Rx., or 42 per cent., is derived from land, nearly 9 millions from opium, and about 6,650,000 from salt.

Besides his Hindoo finance minister, Akbar had a Mohammedan vizir, Abul Fazl, his biographer, who supported his rule with zeal and ability, and Man Singh was one of his most capable generals. He maintained an immense army, but although he made several attempts to employ it for the conquest of the Dekhan, all his expeditions were more or less unsuccessful. Towards the close of his reign Akbar was greatly troubled by the intrigues and dissensions of his family, and at the instigation of his son Selim (Jahangir), who afterwards rebelled against him, he was weak enough to permit the assassination of his vizer, Abul Fazl. Akbar removed the seat of government from Delhi to Agra, which before his time was a mere village, but remained the royal residence until the reign of Aurungzeb, and he (Akbar) built there, amongst other edifices, the fort of Agra, and, at a distance of about twenty-one miles, the palaces, mosque, and other buildings of Fathpur Sikri, which he at one time intended to make his capital, and the well-preserved ruins of which bear testimony to their original magnificence. He died in the year 1605, and was buried in a beautiful mausoleum at Sikandra, about five miles from Agra (Plate VI.). Selim, the son and successor of Akbar, reigned from the year of his father's death until 1627, having assumed the title of Jahangir, or "Conqueror of the World;" that is to say, he reigned, but he did not govern. Before he came to the throne, he fell in love with a poor Persian girl, whom he saw at his father's court, and in order to prevent him from espousing her, Akbar caused her to be married to a young Persian soldier, whom he promoted to a post of responsibility. On his advent to the throne, Jahangir endeavoured to bring about a separation, but failing in that, he managed to get the husband killed, and took the widow into his harem. He subsequently married her, and she ruled, not him alone, but the whole empire. She countenanced and encouraged his habits



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THE TAJ MAHAL, AT AGRA; MAIN BUILDING.

of debauchery, in which he was so callous that he had coins struck wherein he is represented holding up a glass of wine, a heinous sin in a Mussulman, and an attitude in which the reader here finds him represented.

COIN OF JAHANGIR holding a wine-glass.[1]

Whilst he spent his time in his harem, "Nur Jahan," "the Light of the World," as she was called, managed to fill the highest offices of State with her relatives, and she continued, with brief intervals, to be the virtual ruler of Hindustan until the following reign, when Shah Jahan forced her to live in retirement.

It was during this reign, in 1615, that the first English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, arrived in Hindustan from James I., and proceeding to Ajmere, where Jahangir was staying at the time with his court, he made him several presents, amongst which, we are told, a beautiful English coach gave the Emperor the most satisfaction. He received the ambassador with great distinction, showed him marked attention at all public receptions, and granted a firmân to the English to establish a factory at Surat. Although we had been trading with India for some time prior to this date, and had even been permitted by Jahangir to obtain a slight foothold at certain places on the seaboard, this concession to Sir Thomas Roe may be said to have laid the foundation of our rule in India.

As in the case of Akbar, the later years of Jahangir's reign were disturbed by family intrigues, in which the Empress Nur Jahan took a prominent part, endeavouring to secure the succession for her son-in-law; but after the death of the Emperor,[2] his oldest living son, Shah Jahan, pensioned and forced the Empress into retirement, as already mentioned, and proceeded in true Eastern fashion to remove all obstacles to his succession. "Either by the dagger," says one of his contemporary biographers, "or the bowstring, he dispatched all the males of the house of Timour, so that only himself and his children remained of the posterity of Baber, who conquered India."

[1] For a cast of this coin I am indebted to Mr Head, of the British Museum.
[2] His tomb is at Lahore (Plate XVI.).

In some respects the reign of Shah Jahan was unfortunate. He lost his Afghan dominions, and gained but little by his invasions of the Dekhan, which were carried on by his rebellious son and successor, Aurungzeb; but in another direction he did more to perpetuate the glory of the Mughal dynasty than any other emperor of his line. Amongst other handsome buildings, he erected the most beautiful the world has ever possessed, and a sight of which alone would well repay a visit to India. This was the well-known Taj Mahal[1] at Agra, a mausoleum for his favourite Empress Arjamund, known as Mumtaz-i-Mahal, "the Exalted One of the Seraglio." It remains almost intact to the present day, and notwithstanding the numerous accounts that have been written of it, I hope that I may be permitted here to note the impressions which it made upon my mind during two visits, one by day, the other by the light of the full moon.

The Taj is a white marble mausoleum, in which the Emperor and his wife both lie buried. It stands in a great garden, containing many beautiful tropical plants, besides tanks and fountains; but the most striking feature in the garden is the double row of tall trim-looking cypress trees, which form an agreeable contrast to the luxurious tropical growths that abound everywhere. The garden is entered by a magnificent gateway of red sandstone inlaid with white marble, and, like the Taj itself, with a variety of beautiful stones and spars of great value, shaped into mosaic of scrolls, flowers, &c. Up the sides and across the top of the arch there are inscriptions from the Koran, and on each side of the central arch, two of smaller size one above another, these being again flanked by a couple of towers surmounted by white marble cupolas.[2] The mausoleum itself, which is altogether of white marble, consists of a square edifice, converted into an octagon by the cutting off of the four corners (Plate XIV.). In the centre of each side is a gigantic arch, somewhat resembling that of the gateway in shape, and inlaid in like manner with designs executed in spars and valuable stones. The remainder of the building is

[1] Modern Hindustani: "Taj," a diadem; "Mahal," a seraglio.

[2] A reference to Plate XIV. will give the reader a fair idea of the gateway, which somewhat resembles the face of the Taj itself.

similarly indented with smaller double arches, and it is crowned with a magnificent dome (everything of white marble, be it remembered), which rises to a height of more than 240 feet above the ground, including at the summit an ornamental spike surmounted by a golden crescent; four smaller cupolas stand quadrilaterally below the central dome. (The figures in the garden give some idea of the vastness of the edifice.) The Taj itself rests upon a raised platform, at each corner of which stands a minaret about 137 feet high, two of which are seen in the photograph; these are surmounted by a pavilion and cupola, and furnished with three galleries situated at about equal distances in the ascent; and perhaps the most imposing view of the Taj during the daytime is obtainable from the highest of these galleries; for besides the Taj itself, there are two other beautiful structures, namely, mosques, one opposite either side of the main building, at some distance removed—in fact, at the boundary of the garden (Plate XIII.).

These mosques are constructed of red sandstone, each being surmounted with three beautiful white marble cupolas, and their dimensions are so proportioned as to give a more majestic appearance to the noble mausoluum. There now remains only one other side of the garden to be accounted for, namely, that opposite the entrance. Here is a terrace which looks down upon the river Jumna, and from which the fort and city of Agra are visible in the distance (Plate XIII.).

But if it be difficult to draw a faithful picture of the beautiful Taj as it is seen by daylight, what can be said of it when the queen of night sheds her silver rays almost perpendicularly upon the great white marble dome? The scene is almost indescribable. There it stands, the vast dome, white as snow, indeed apparently covered with snow, towering up into the dark blue sky and set with its small white attendant cupolas upon the octagonal building beneath. That part of the structure deeply indented with its arabic arches now also appears to be of uniform whiteness, for the mosaics are but faintly visible in the moonlight. As you approach it, a peculiar light, reflected from the white pavement on which the whole mausoleum rests, falls dimly into the dark arches, across which a veil of gauze appears to be drawn. When you have mounted

the platform, which is approached by flights of stairs, as you walk round the building, you see every variation of light and shadow upon the Taj itself; and in certain positions, where the moon happens to be hidden by the pavilions upon one of the corner minarets, this seems to be carrying a brilliant electric light which is illuminating the whole surrounding scene. Looking down from the platform into the garden beneath, a wide pavement of mosaics is seen on the four sides of the building, and this resembles a magnificent carpet border.[1] But the eye soon reverts to the beautiful central figure of the scene, to admire the delicate marble tracery, which is rendered still more lovely in the soft moonlight, to gaze up again and again at the snowy dome, or to peer into the veiled arches. All is stillness; no obtrusive guides to interfere with your reverie. If you are with companions and they speak, it is in whispers; you would as soon think of conversing aloud during divine service as of breaking the silence that broods over this fairy spectacle. You feel as though you could stay all night and feast your eyes upon the beautiful vision; it is impossible to drag yourself away, and as you walk slowly and reluctantly down the central avenue of the garden towards the gateway at the entrance, you turn round time after time to have one more look. Dark cypresses intervene as you pass along, and at length you obtain your last glimpse of the great snowy marble dome peering through the dark archway, of which the brilliant mosaics are also illuminated by the moon's rays.

Ah! if we could but carry away the impression made upon the senses by this heavenly scene, unmarred by reflections of a sadder kind! The Taj has another tale to tell besides that of the marital affection of its founder and the devotion to art which must have inspired its architects and designers. Most of the so-called "wonders of the world" were raised by despots at the cost of the life-blood of thousands of human beings, and the Taj at Agra was no exception. The cost of its erection, which was defrayed partly by the Emperor from his private treasury, and partly by the contributions of wealthy nobles, was

[1] In the photograph this beautiful pavement is almost lost in the bright sunlight. No photograph can give any adequate idea of the majesty and beauty of the "Taj."

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THE JAMA MASJID, AT DELHI.

about two millions sterling, but the labour was all forced and very little payment was made in money to the twenty thousand workmen who are said to have been employed seventeen years in the construction of this wonderful pile and its surroundings. "An allowance of corn was daily given to them, but even this was carefully curtailed by the rapacious officials placed over them. There was great distress and frightful mortality among them, and the peasantry around Agra certainly did not worship the memory of the innocent princess."[1] From the general account of the condition and treatment of artisans at this period, which will be given hereafter, it will be seen that this is no exaggeration of the fate of many who assisted in the erection of the building.

Besides the Taj, Shah Jahan raised many other beautiful edifices, one of the chief being the Jama Masjid at Delhi. This is a magnificent Mohammedan mosque, situated upon a fine open plain, in close proximity to the chief street in the native city (Plate XV.). It is built upon a flat rocky eminence, and is approached from three sides by broad flights of steps, each leading to a fine gateway. All these are entrances to a large quadrangle on one side of which stands the mosque, a fine oblong building of red sandstone partly faced with marble, surmounted with three marble domes resembling that of the Taj, and flanked by two minarets. The interior of the mosque is paved with white marble, as is also part of the inner wall. The visitor is first conducted to the Kibla, where the Imaum or Mussulman priest[2] offers up prayers, standing with his face in the direction of Mecca. Here he is asked for a rupee—bakshish No. 1. He is then led across the quadrangle to a small building at the opposite corner, where he is shown the footprint of Mahomet, a pair of slippers said to have belonged to the Prophet, and one of the hairs of his beard, and is asked for another rupee—bakshish No. 2; and if he is foolish enough to comply with this request (which I was not, not being, like many of my fellow-countrymen, a relic-worshipper), he will be importuned again and again for bakshish, and may think himself very fortunate

[1] Ferguson, History of Architecture, vol. iii.

[2] I am not sure whether Mollah is not the more correct designation.

if he escapes from the sacred building under five or six rupees. Formerly Christians, and even now Hindoos, are not admitted.

Another of Shah Jahan's buildings is the palace in the fort of Delhi, which there will be an opportunity of describing as it was in the days of his successor, Aurungzeb. Meanwhile it may here be mentioned that the most notable features in this magnificent pile of buildings, which is in excellent preservation, are the Diwan-i-am, or audience-hall, a large open hall surrounded with pillars, the whole exquisitely inlaid with mosaics representing flowers, fruits, birds, &c.; the Diwan-i-khas, or private hall of audience, in which the celebrated peacock-throne formerly stood, and a private house of prayer for the royal family. The last-named is of pure white marble, without a trace of colouring, and well merits its designation of the "Pearl Mosque." Although it is far from being so grand and imposing, there are some who prefer its chaste beauty to the magnificent Taj at Agra.

When Shah Jahan had attained his sixty-sixth year (according to some writers, his seventieth), he was seized with a sudden illness, the result of his debauched life, and as it was reported that he was dead, a civil war broke out amongst his sons for the possession of the throne. These were four in number, Dara (the oldest), Shuja, Aurungzeb, and Murad (the youngest); and in the conflict Aurungzeb, the third son, was ultimately successful. Two of the brothers, Dara and Murad, fell into the power of the last-named and were put to death by his orders; Shuja escaped to Arracan, and was murdered there; and as for the Emperor, who had recovered, Aurungzeb confined him in the fort at Agra, with all his female relatives, and then caused himself to be proclaimed in his stead. Towards the close of Shah Jahan's life, a partial reconciliation took place between him and his son, who, however, did not release him from his confinement, although he professed to treat him with great deference and indulged all his desires. "He loaded him with presents, consulted him as an oracle, and the frequent letters of the son to the father were expressive of duty and submission."[1] On hearing of his father's

[1] Bernier, vol. i. p. 186, where some of the letters are given.

death in 1666 Aurungzeb, who was at Golconda, set out immediately for Agra to superintend his obsequies. There he saw his sister, who had been kept in confinement with her father, and her reception of him was of so affectionate a character that, moved partly thereby, and probably also by feelings of remorse, he liberated her, and afterwards treated her with great kindness.

The reign of Aurungzeb was undoubtedly one of the most brilliant of any of the Mughals, so far as the extension of his empire and influence were concerned. In war he had his reverses as well as successes. He invaded the Dekhan, and succeeded in annexing Bijapur and Golconda; but he was constantly engaged in wars, often unsuccessful ones, with a new power that had sprung into existence, namely, the Marathas, who fought with him after the fashion of some of the Eastern barbarians in their progress through Europe. When he marched against them into the Dekhan (where they held considerable territories subject to the Mughal suzerainty), at the head of a large army, they were nowhere visible until some small detachment was sent out to reconnoitre; these were suddenly set upon by overwhelming Maratha forces and cut to pieces. If the army rested with its numerous retinue and attendants, small bands of the enemy approached and harassed it until it resumed the offensive, when they again disappeared. Their first leader, Sivaji, at one time submitted, and was imprisoned, but escaped from his captivity; and although Aurungzeb made a treaty with him, he continued to ravage and levy tribute in the Emperor's territories. In 1674 Sivaji declared his complete independence, and caused himself to be crowned; and dying six years afterwards, he was succeeded by his son Sambhaji, who was captured and put to death by Aurungzeb, with no other result, however, than to stir up the Marathas to increased activity. In one of these wars, namely, in 1706, Aurungzeb was compelled to retreat before the Maratha arms, and he died in great despair at Ahmednagar.

The sons of Aurungzeb gave him as much trouble as he had given his father. One of them, Akbar, rebelled openly against him and joined the Marathas. He was, however, compelled to take refuge in Persia, where he died. Another, Muazzim,

who gave his father offence, was kept some time in prison, but was eventually liberated, and succeeded him as Bahadur Shah, after having, as customary, fought with and slain his two brothers. Aurungzeb did not follow the example of his predecessor in his toleration towards the Hindoos. He levied excessive taxes upon them, and treated them with great bigotry, the result being that secret intrigues were carried on with his enemies the Marathas, which eventually led to the disintegration of the Mughal Empire.

# CHAPTER VIII.

## THE INDIA OF THE MUGHALS—A COMPARISON.

The flourish of the Indian Empire compared with British rule—Decadence of native industries—Preference for Home Rule—Native royal debauchees and tyrants to-day—The classes and the masses—Extravagance of the Mughal court—Description of royal progresses—The royal equipage and attendants—A physician's outfit—Pillage forbidden—"Begar" and "Malba," two extortionate official customs now practised—Hardships inflicted by royal progresses—The travelling harem—Dangerous ground—A great Mughal's camp—Modern Lieutenant-Governor's camp—Akbar's court—His character—Court sycophants and worshippers—The peacock-throne described—The royal table and luxuries—The masses—Artisans still greatly underpaid—Beautiful designs—Their treatment and that of labourers in the Mughal period—The "Korrah" (whip)—The prolific soil of Bengal—The peasantry in the Mughal period—Has the peasantry gained by British rule?—Abul Fazl's description of the Hindoos—Their character, religion, superstitions—Suicide—The author's impressions of Hindoo character compared with the mediæval account of them—Native traders—Their extortions and obtrusiveness—Native domestics—The peasantry—Universal hospitality in India.

At such a time as the present, when a large section of the Hindoo community—the peaceful and educated section, which is of course entitled to be heard before any other—is calling out for an extension of liberty and self-government, it behoves an impartial critic, in their interest as well as in that of the mother country, to direct special attention to the period which is often referred to as the flourish of the Indian Empire. I heard a good deal with my own ears about the decadence of native art industries, and indeed I frequently witnessed the substitution of cheap German and English manufactures for the beautiful work of native artisans in India. Now and then I was told that in the matter of government, too, many Hindoos would prefer indigenous rule, even of an inferior quality, to imported authority, that is to say, bad princes who have a community of feeling and an immediate interest in the welfare of their fellow-countrymen, to rulers, however upright,



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who look upon India as "a cow to be milked;" who stay there at high salaries as long as it is necessary to secure a handsome retiring pension, and who then leave the country in which they have never had the smallest stake, and a people with whom they have not had the slightest sympathy—indeed, against whom, in a large number of cases, they entertained great antipathy.

But I am afraid that even leading men amongst the Indian Home Rulers who may have given the matter any thought are too apt to regard the age of Akbar and of Aurungzeb pretty much as we do "the good old days of Queen Bess," and to forget the blessings of Western civilisation and the value of British protection in the contemplation of the lovely edifices and the military glamour of the Mughal period. To say nothing of the chances of a Russian invasion in case the power of Great Britain should be enfeebled—and mark, I am not for a moment suggesting that it would be enfeebled—by an extension of Indian liberties, let it not be forgotten that there still exist in India princes who, but for British watchfulness and authority, would be as vile in their methods of government as the worst mediæval potentates. Are there not even now states in *our Empire* ruled by sovereigns who have their troops of wives and concubines and dancing-girls,[1] and who, keeping these women in subjection, divide their time between the objects of their lust and the wine-bottle, which renders them unfit to govern themselves, much more their numerous subjects? And are there not others who, chafing under the wholesome restraint of British Residents, do not hesitate to plot their removal, as they would dispose of any one else who stood between them and their absolute will, by the administration of poison or by some other form of assassination? Is it of no consequence to the great Hindoo community, that whilst in the palmy days of Mughal rule there were only two classes of society—the aristocracy, with its imperial despot at its head, and its arrogant retainers, and an enslaved democracy—there is rising up under British rule an independent labouring population, and what is of still greater importance for the country's welfare, an enlightened and prosperous middle class?

[1] In one case the total number exceeds two hundred and forty.

Let us take a look at the glorious days of Akbar the Great and of his successors, as they were described by trustworthy contemporaries. The annual household expenses alone of the Mughal emperors amounted in round numbers to £800,000, an enormous sum as compared with the same amount to-day; but even this gives no idea of the drain which royalty made upon the resources of the country. That will be best understood from the description of a royal excursion or a state progress. When Akbar went out hunting or for a short journey, he took with him a complete city of tents and pavilions, the extent of which may be judged from the fact that 100 elephants, 500 camels, 4000 carts, and 100 men were required for the transport of the equipage. He was escorted by 500 cavalry, and the servants were 1930 in number, including pioneers, water-carriers, sweepers, carpenters, tent-makers, linkmen, &c. Similar arrangements were made for the inspection of troops, but we are told that he never collected his army in one body for fear of causing a famine. Occasionally, however, even that disaster attended a royal progress. In 1665 Aurungzeb, desiring change of air after an illness, decided to visit Kashmir, and on this occasion his following assumed formidable proportions. Not only did his escort consist of a considerable army, but all the nobles and court officials were ordered to accompany him, as they could not be trusted to remain behind. Indeed, a great part of the population of Delhi, including dealers from the bazaar and artisans, were required to minister to his wants and those of his seraglio, the members of which travelled with him in state.

There were 35,000 cavalry, who, we are told, at all times composed his body-guard; 10,000 infantry; seventy pieces of artillery, which were so unmanageable that twenty yoke of oxen, aided sometimes by elephants, were needed for the traction of each piece. But besides these, there was the "stirrup artillery," small field-pieces, so called because they were always about the king's person. These were placed on a neat cart, handsomely decorated, and were drawn by a pair of horses. They travelled at a quick rate, and were always in position to salute the monarch when he came to a new resting-place, which was prepared for him before his arrival.

The state in which even the attendant nobles travelled may be judged by the appurtenances of the physician of one of the chief ministers who accompanied the Emperor.[1] He says that he had to supply himself with the same necessaries as if he were a cavalry officer of rank. As his pay was 150 crowns per month (roughly speaking, £360 per annum), he was expected to keep two "Tartarian" horses, a powerful Persian camel and driver, a groom for his horses, a cook, and a servant to go before his horse with a flagon of water in his hand, according to the custom of the country. Then follows a whole page of impedimenta, such as tents, bedsteads, bedding, cooking utensils, provisions, linen and wearing apparel, and sundry luxuries. He half deplores that "they cannot supply their wants by pillage," for "in Hindustan every acre of land is considered the property of the king, and the spoliation of a peasant would be a robbery committed upon the king's domain."

We manage these things better under British rule. In many parts of the North (and probably elsewhere in India), there exist even at present what appear to be very objectionable customs known as "Begar" and "Malba." The first means forced service, the second literally "rubbish from old walls," but it is in reality something widely different. When the district officer goes his rounds, he and his following claim free board and gratuitous service. He notifies to the Tahsildars, his subordinates at the various places where he intends to stop, that provisions and suitable servants must be found for him. These consist chiefly of grass and grain for his horses, milk, eggs, and other kinds of food, clay pots and cooking utensils; and sweepers and labourers to pitch his tent, clean up, &c. To the former, "Malba," which he, of course, receives free of charge, all the neighbouring villages have to contribute their share through their head-men, and for the forced service low castes are pressed. This is said to be a recognised custom, but I heard it condemned by Englishmen as well as natives, not alone because the custom itself is impolitic (for the poor villagers believe it to be lawful, which it is not), but on account of its attendant abuses. If the Tahsildar does not satisfy his superior,

[1] Bernier, whose work (along with the "Ain-i-Akberi," and some other works of the period), is frequently quoted in this chapter.

he is liable to be disgraced; and it is a common practice, I was told, for the chaprasis or orderlies who precede the district officer to demand four or five times as much as is actually required, and to profit by the surplus.

But to resume. Although pillage was not systematically practised, for there are evidences that it was at least occasional, the sufferings of the peasantry during one of these progresses were very great. The vast army resembled a flight of locusts sweeping over the land; for, in addition to horses, camels, and elephants, the Emperor carried with him a large number of dogs, hawks, and leopards for hunting; grey oxen, buffaloes, tame antelopes, and even lions and rhinoceroses for parade. Besides scouring the country round for miles and miles in search of food, which they bought as cheaply as possible and sold to the army at an advanced price, it was a common practice with the traders who accompanied the march to clear "with a kind of trowel whole fields of a peculiar kind of grass, which, having beaten and washed, they dispose of in the camp, sometimes very high, and sometimes inadequately low." If a few blades were left standing, these, along with every remaining kind of vegetation, were consumed by the camels, which were turned loose to browse upon the plains, so that wherever this enormous cavalcade went it left a desert behind.

It is true the human portion of the great assemblage did not need such a supply of nourishment as would be requisite for a Western army on the march. Not a twentieth part of the men ate animal food; a mess of rice and other vegetables, over which when boiled they poured melted butter, being sufficient to satisfy the wants of the large majority; but, as I have already said, the result of one of these progresses was ofttimes a famine, to which those who caused it paid little attention. Of the Emperor's seraglio a brief notice has already been given,[1] and it is only necessary here to add that the presence of his female companions and attendants on one of these excursions must have caused great annoyance to the populace; for wherever they passed, which they did in great state and great numbers, every one was compelled to remove to a considerable distance, and woe to the unfortunate man who came

[1] Page 53, *ante*.

within sight of the procession. "Nothing can exceed the insolence of the tribes of eunuchs and pages which he has to encounter," says Bernier, "and they eagerly avail themselves of any such opportunity to beat a man in the most unmerciful manner. . . . It is much worse, however, in Persia. I understand that in that country life itself is forfeited if a man be within sight even of the eunuchs, although he should be half a league distant from the women."[1] In this respect there has been a slight improvement in India; now it is the women who keep out of sight of the men!

It would occupy too much space fully to describe one of the royal camps at rest. It resembled a great city with a temporary palace, containing an audience-hall, baths and apartments for the Emperor, and pavilions for the begums and their attendants, all in one enclosure; streets of pavilions and tents for the ministers, nobles, and their retainers. These tents had their distinctive appellations, some being used for sheltering animals, others for storing provisions, munitions of war, and others again were used as kitchens. The whole camp, in which broils and fights often occurred in the heterogeneous assemblage, was guarded by watchmen resembling those of the present day, for besides kindling fires at night to keep off wild beasts, they went about calling out in a loud voice, to make all whom it concerned aware of their presence. In one part of the camp there was a kind of rallying-station, distinguished at night by a lantern mounted on a high mast. "This light is very useful, for it may be seen when every object is enveloped in impenetrable darkness. To this spot persons who lose their way resort, either to pass the night secure from all danger of robbers, or to resume their search after their own lodgings." So much for the vast camp or temporary city of the royal tourist. Presently I shall say a few words about the court at Delhi, but it may be of interest to the reader who has not visited India to know that this Oriental state is still maintained in a modified form by its British rulers.

1 Like most travellers and writers of the mediæval and ancient (and, for that matter, modern) periods, much that Bernier narrates from hearsay has been corrected; but his accounts of what he has himself seen agree with those of his contemporaries, and bear the stamp of authenticity.

Whilst I was staying at Delhi in a hotel near the Kashmir Gate, I used to take long walks, passing through the gate into the great park-like suburbs early in the morning, and on two or three successive days I noticed a kind of artificial garden being laid out with flower-beds, &c., and lamps placed along the temporary drives and walks. One morning, to my great surprise, I found that overnight the whole park had been converted into just such a city as I have described, except that it was on a much smaller scale. It was for a visit of the Lieutenant-Governor. There was the great central group of tents with a canvas enclosure (I don't think any arrangements had been made for a seraglio, for obvious reasons), and a large number of smaller tents. The scene was animated in the extreme: squads of native infantry exercising, artillery driving along, and loaded camels either moving about in line or tethered and lying down. In one place was a temporary erection, which, I was told, was the "Dewan-i-am," the audience-hall where his Excellency would receive the native princes and nobles who came to pay their respects to him.

The account of the imperial court, when it was at Delhi in the time of Akbar, is both interesting and instructive. According to his biographer, Abul Fazl, Akbar was a model ruler:—

"His life is an uninterrupted series of virtue and sound morality. . . . He never laughs at nor ridicules any religion or sect; he never wastes his time nor omits the performance of any duty, so that through the blessings of his upright intentions every act of his life may be considered as an adoration of the Deity. He is constantly returning thanks to Providence; he engages in praise and meditation at daybreak, at noon, at sunset, and at midnight" (the four periods of the sun's diurnal progress).

Then follows a significant sentence: "He is ever sparing the lives of offenders." It is no wonder that a human being who exercised such absolute authority should be surrounded by flatterers, and, as in Akbar's case, by ignorant worshippers. Every day the Emperor went in state to the Dewan-i-am, or great audience-hall, where, seated on a throne, he received petitions and passed judgments; and as the hall is situated on one side of a large open square, he reviewed small bodies of troops, witnessed the testing of swords, the parade of elephants,

&c., and here it was that the adulations of his courtiers were the most demonstrative :—

"Whenever a word escapes the lips of the king, if at all to the purpose, how trifling soever may be its import, it is immediately caught by the surrounding throng, and the chief Omrahs, extending their arms towards heaven as if to receive some benediction, exclaim, 'Karamat! karamat!' Wonderful, wonderful!' (literally, a miracle), 'he has spoken wonders.' Indeed, there is no Mogul who does not know and does not glory in repeating this proverb in Persian verse, 'If at noon-day the king asserts that it is midnight, you are to say, Behold the moon and stars.'"[1]

This servility, which in the case of the Emperor amounted to actual worship, pervaded the whole of society in the Mughal period, and, as I shall be able to show farther on, it is still to a great extent a prominent characteristic of certain classes of Hindoos.

The accounts that have reached us of the court of the great Mughal emperors possess features of interest in the contrast which they present between the two great sections of society already referred to—the aristocracy and the masses.

The enormous wealth of the crown is well illustrated by the celebrated "peacock-throne." It was placed in the Dewan-i-khas, or private audience-hall, to which the Emperor and his suite adjourned after the public audiences, to receive his ministers and nobles. The wealth of jewels upon his robes of state excited the enthusiasm of his adorers, and his throne, which is said to have been planned by the same designer as executed the mosaics of the hall in which it stood, namely, Austin of Bordeaux, has been variously valued at from one to six millions sterling.[2] It was called the "peacock" throne from having had the figures of two peacocks standing behind it with their tails expanded, and the beautiful oculi made to represent life by means of a vast number of sapphires, rubies, emeralds, pearls, &c. The throne itself, and the canopy under which it stood, were of solid gold, also inlaid with gems, and there is said to have been a parrot suspended between the peacocks, which was formed of a single emerald. The last is,

[1] Bernier, i. 300, 301.

[2] The latter is probably nearer the mark, Bernier valued it at four, Tavernier at six millions.

however, doubtful. This throne and all the imperial treasures of Delhi were carried off by Nadir Shah, the Persian invader, in 1739, when, also, the inhabitants were ruthlessly massacred.

But the extravagance of the Mughal court and aristocracy was exhibited not only in the royal trappings, but in the variety of luxuries which were provided for the inmates of the palace and for the wealthy nobles who were its hangers-on. The cookery, we are told, was of three kinds—"that without flesh, which is commonly called Sufyaneh; flesh with rice and such like; and flesh with greens," and in addition an immense variety of sweetmeats. The description of one dish must here suffice. It was called "chickhee," and consisted of wheat-flour made into a paste and washed until the quantity was considerably reduced; to this were then added ghie or clarified butter, onions, saffron, cardamoms, cloves, green ginger, salt, and "some add lemon-juice." The catalogue of dishes would fill one of these chapters. Akbar himself disliked flesh-meat and seldom ate it. Amongst the fruits consumed were various sorts of melons, apples, guavas, pears, pomegranates, grapes, dates, nuts, plums, pistachios, almonds, mangoes, pine-apples, oranges, plantains, custard-apples, figs, mulberries, cocoa-nuts, tamarinds, lemons, &c.; indeed, all that are found in any part of India at the present day. The Emperor was very partial to perfumery, and in the "perfume office" thirty-three different kinds were kept; he "constantly perfumed his body and the hair of his head with odoriferous ointments." And the reader may judge of the wealth of the floral decorations in what must then already have been the land of flowers, when he hears that at one banquet the table was adorned with no less that forty-nine different varieties.

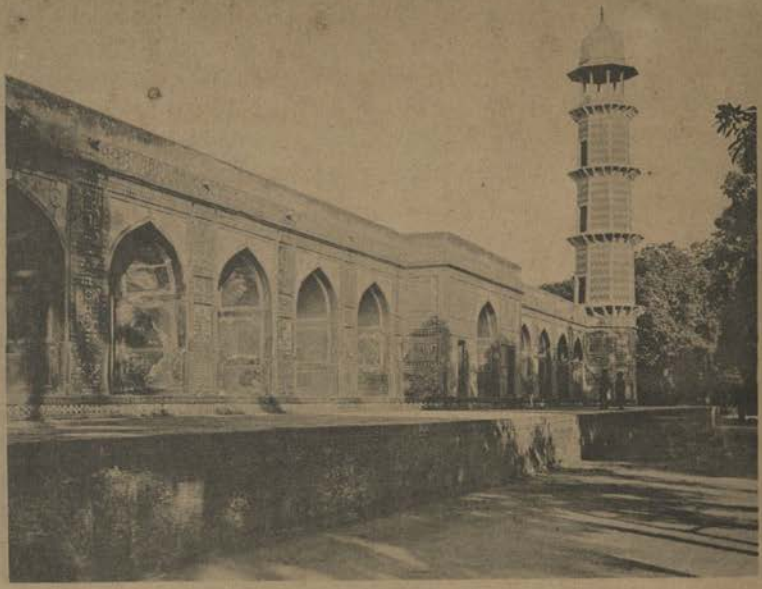
But whilst the Emperor and his seraglio, as well as the officers of the court and the aristocracy, expended enormous sums upon luxurious living and vain barbaric display, and were always surrounded by a retinue of humble followers, the great mass of the population herded in hovels, and were of little more account than the brute creation; in fact, they led a life of servitude. We hear a great deal, for instance, about the decay of art and of native industries, and a superficial observer might be disposed to regard the beautiful edifices

which still exist in partial or complete preservation as evidences of the prosperity of the artisan and trading class. There were a few rich merchants, it is true, but even for this it is difficult to account, as no man's property was safe from the rapacity of the court and military, and various customs enabled the strong to rob the feeble. It has already been mentioned that in the erection of the Taj the forced labour of half-starved men was employed, and it is remarkable that in the condition in which the artisan class lived they should have had the skill and taste to execute such works of art (Plate XVI.). It is quite true that skilled labour and artistic workmanship are very much underpaid at present. I saw and purchased carved woodwork in the North of India quite unequalled for perfection of design, although somewhat rough in execution, which is worth in England ten times its selling price on the spot, and our Government could render no greater benefit to the artisan population of India than by encouraging its use in this country.[1] But at least the artisans are their own masters, and not merely the despised drudges of the wealthy class, as they were in the Mughal period. For we are told that—

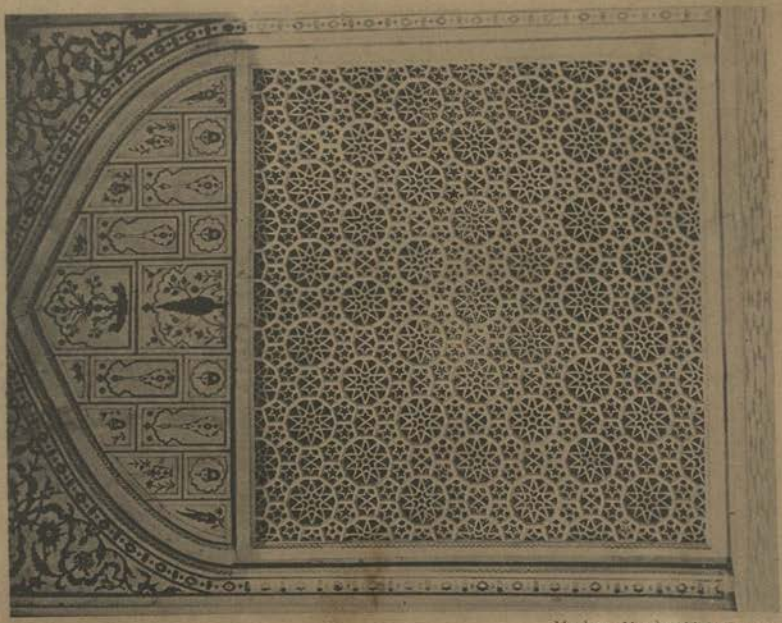
"These unhappy men are contemned, treated with harshness, and inadequately remunerated for their labour. The rich will have every article at a cheap rate. When an Omrah" (nobleman) "or Mansebdar" (officer) "requires the service of an artisan, he sends to the bazaar for him, employing force if necessary to make the poor man work, and after the task is finished, the unfeeling lord pays not according to the value of the labour, but agreeably to his own standard of fair remuneration; the artisan having reason to congratulate himself if the Korrah" (modernised Kora, whip) "has not been given in part payment. . . . The artists therefore who arrive at any eminence in their art are those only who are in the service of the king or some powerful Omrah, and who work exclusively for their patron."

But it was not alone in matters connected with art that the whip was used; in every walk of the poor man's life it was "Korrah, korrah, korrah." If there was a scarcity of fish owing to the cold, to which the natives have always been, and are still, very sentitive, still the Omrahs must have theirs. They alone "contrive to force the fishermen out at all times

[1] They are doing so to a limited extent, by permitting clever artisans to sell their work in certain museums which are visited by tourists, and by other means.



JAHANGIRS MAUSOLEUM, AT LAHORE.



Maclure, Macdonald & Co., Glasgow.

MARBLE FRETWORK ON A MAUSOLEUM, AT AGRA.

by means of the Korrah, the long whip always suspended at their doors."

"In fact, the great are in the enjoyment of everything, but it is by dint of the numbers in their service, by dint of the Korrah, and by dint of money. In Delhi there is no middle state; a man must either be of the highest rank or live miserably."

And as in towns, so in the country. It is very well to say that the Emperor took one-third of the produce of the soil; but in addition to the constant recurrence of civil and foreign wars, which desolated the land, and the rapacity of the officials, the peasant could never reckon upon enjoying the fruits of his labour, and thence arose the practice, still followed, of burying their savings in the earth to avoid detection. And yet Nature was most bountiful in her gifts, as in Bengal, for example, the peasantry are said to have gathered three harvests. (Farther on I propose to give an account, from personal observation, of the condition of agriculture in Bengal at the present time, which, I hope, may prove interesting.) The food of the poor was, and is still to some extent, fish and rice, or rice alone, and as they lived then, so they live now, in mud hovels thatched with straw.

Some of my native readers may ask, "What, then, have they gained by British rule?" The reply, though it may not be quite satisfactory, will be given when we come to consider the condition and prospects of the peasantry to-day; but I think so much will be admitted, that whilst it is becoming more and more the aim of the Government to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry under the modern conditions of over-population in many parts of the country, and to protect them from tyranny and oppression, the chief object of the Mughal rulers and officials was to increase their private revenues and multiply their indulgences at the expense of the labouring community.[1]

Contemporary accounts of the Hindoos present many other interesting features. They were said by Akbar's biographer,

[1] "Moreover, the native ruler took good care to sweep into his granaries, in the form of taxation, all the produce except what barely sufficed for the maintenance of the farmer, his household, and his cattle."—"*The Punjab Money-Lender*," an interesting and instructive article in the Allahabad *Pioneer*, July 1, 1889.

who would certainly not be expected to flatter them, to have been religious, affable, courteous to strangers, cheerful, enamoured of knowledge, fond of inflicting austerities upon themselves, lovers of justice, given to retirement, able in business, grateful, admirers of truth, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings, they were "brightest in adversity," and "brave soldiers." He said they "believed in the unity of the Godhead, held images in high veneration, but were not idolaters;" but he says in another place that they believed in "Brahma, the creator of the world, Bishen (Vishnu), its providence and preserver, and Roodoe" (Rudra), "who is also called Mahadeo, its destroyer." Some believed them to be God incarnate, not polluted with earth, "in the same manner as the Christians speak of Messiah; others, three human beings raised to high dignities on account of sanctity." We are told a great deal about their superstitions, modes of inflicting penance, self-mortification, and meritorious suicides, one being "at the extremity of the Ganges, where the Ganges discharges itself into the sea through a thousand channels, he goes into the water, enumerates his sins, and prays until the alligators come and devour him;" another, "cutting his throat at Allahabad, at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna."

This is a brief and superficial account of the condition and character of the Indian people as it has been handed down to us from the flourish of the Mughal period; and although the reader will have a better opportunity to form an independent judgment from facts that will be laid before him hereafter, it may not be uninteresting if, bearing this account in view, I give here the impression made upon my mind of the general character of the Hindoos at the present time. The vast mass of the natives are "religious," if by that is meant that they adhere strictly to their religious forms, customs, and ceremonies, and that they are devout in the worship of their idols. Of the enlightened section of the community I shall speak hereafter. All are "affable," to the extent of occasionally laying themselves open to the charge of mendacity, in saying what they think will please those whom they are addressing. They are "cheerful" and "grateful," and far more prone to suffer than to resent insult. I have never heard a native even

flint at the pain which he must feel when he hears himself or his fellow-countrymen abused by those who consider themselves a superior race. As to the "infliction of austerities upon themselves," that would no doubt be largely practised in all sincerity if the enlightened Government of India had not vetoed it; but at present, although there are probably some genuine ascetics to be found, the fakirs, so far as I could learn, are, as a rule, a filthy, lecherous set of fellows, who trade on the credulity and superstition of the masses, as indeed they are reputed to have done in Akbar's time. The Hindoos to-day "love justice," but I am bound to say they prefer British to native justice. No doubt they are sharp in business, but their system is the worst that can be conceived. If you are told the price of an object in a native bazaar, you may safely take it up and deposit in its place about a third or a fourth of what is asked, for you will then probably have paid double its value, and are not likely to meet with protests. This is not from any fear of the ruling race, for if you have not paid enough, you will soon be told of it.

The whole country is overrun with the most impudent tradesmen or their touts. They stop you on the street to solicit your custom, as though they had an important communication to make, and they swarm about the hotels, of which the landlords either receive a commission on their sales or a sum down for the privilege of touting and exposing their wares. They enter the hotel in front, and if ordered away (which it is difficult for the landlord to do), they sneak round to the back, and are found squatting in the very drawing-rooms; indeed, fear of castigation alone prevents them from entering the bedrooms. They are encouraged mainly by British and American tourists, who frequently pay them four times the value of their wares. Under these circumstances there can be no question of "truthfulness." The native Hindoo servants are, so far as I could learn and see, faithful and honest where they have not been corrupted by residence in a careless English household. In Hindoo families they are treated with great consideration; attention is paid to such matters as marriages and births, and small presents are given; in English places they get high wages, and take advantage of

the ignorance of their employers in dealing with tradesmen, &c.; but even amongst the English many faithful domestics are to be found all over India. The chief complaint I heard against them was their caprice, but that, I think, is often the result of misunderstanding or external influence. The peasantry are certainly grateful, and have great confidence in the English; but in this respect the reader will have ample means in the chapter on agriculture of forming his own judgment. As to hospitality to strangers, speaking from personal experience, it is the brightest phase in the native character; indeed, it is one that pervades the whole of Indian society, British as well as native. In the latter (that is, orthodox native society) it would be more prominent were it not for the restrictions put upon the people by caste and religion, which prevent them from sitting at table or partaking of food with the English; but as for our own countrymen, they appear to have developed a new virtue, for in no part of the world have I observed or experienced such hospitality, in the broadest sense of the term, as amongst the English in India. So much at present for the character of the Hindoos of the Mughal period as compared with those of our own time.

# CHAPTER IX.

## THE EUROPEANS IN INDIA.

Decline of the Mughal power—Incursions of barbarians—Anarchy—Governments in the Dekhan—The Marathas—Native rulers and Europeans—The Portuguese in India—Early expeditions—Vasco da Gama, 1498—Other expeditions—Foundation of Goa—Portuguese tyranny—Jesuit missions—Albuquerque viceroy—Fall of Portuguese—Present settlements—Bernier on Jesuit missions—Difficulties of conversions—The Dutch in India—Their trading companies—Chinsurah, the capital, captured by Clive, 1759—Their fall—The French in India—Dupleix—Early settlements, 1616—François Martin founds Pondichery, 1673—Captured by the Dutch and restored, 1697—The "Compagnie des Indes," 1719—Law's bubble—Scenes during the speculative mania—Joseph François Dupleix—Second commissioner at Pondichery, 1720—Develops Chandernagore—Captain La Bourdonnais—Founds Mahé, 1725—Governor Dumas—His chivalry—Retires, 1741—Accession of Dupleix—Extends French possessions—Political arbiter in the Dekhan—Rivalry of the British—Lawrence and Clive—Outbreak of war, 1741—Repulse of British at Pondichery—Capture of Madras by La Bourdonnais—Governor Paradis at Madras—Flight of Clive—Conditions of warfare—Inferiority of natives—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748—Madras restored to England—Secret alliances—Success of Dupleix—Raises Mozuffer Jung and Chunda Sahib to power—Homage to Dupleix—Lord of Southern India—Bussy at Aurungabad—French power at its zenith—Growth of English influence—Their protégé Mohammed Ali besieged at Trichinopoly—Clive surprises and captures Arcot—Relief of Trichinopoly—Defeat and surrender of Chunda Sahib and Law—French successes—Cession to them of the Northern Circars—Recall of Dupleix—Impoverishment, persecution, and deplorable end—Governor Godeheu and Governor Saunders—Imbecility of the former—Fresh outbreak of war—General Lally sent as governor to India—French corruption—Captures Fort St. David—Colonel Forde defeats the French and secures the Circars, 1758—Battle of Wandewash—Victory of the English under Coote—Surrender of Lally and capture of Pondichery—Lally sent to England and liberated—Tried in France and executed, 1766—Present French possessions in India—Their possible danger—French and Russian alliance—Possible Russian invasion—The frontier question and a possible native rising—Curzon and Dilke's views—Views of Indian officers on organising native troops—Unfriendly journals printed in French territory—Retrospect.

So far as the Mughal rulers of Delhi are concerned, all interest for the student of the Indian people ceases with

Aurungzeb. From his death in 1707 until the deposition of Bahadur Shah, the last of the dynasty, in 1857, their power was constantly declining, and giving place to the government of the Marathas, of various Hindoo and Mohammedan princes, some of whom still exercise a modified sovereignty, and to the temporary or permanent occupation of different European nationalities.

The story of the rise and fall of the Maratha power, the civil wars of the great native chiefs, and the inroads of the Sikhs, the Persians (notably under Nadir Shah in 1739), and of the Afghans, form a record of rapine, plunder, and anarchy, and it was not until British rule was firmly established that peace was sufficiently restored to awaken new phases of the national existence, and to admit of the development of the prosperity of the people.

For the better comprehension of the movements of the Europeans in the Dekhan, to which our interest in India will now be transferred, it must here be mentioned that, although the real power gradually slipped away from the hands of the Mughal emperors, their nominal sovereignty remained, and was frequently used by European leaders as a pretence for establishing the legitimacy of their native protégés to the viceroyalty of the Dekhan. Besides the Viceroy or Subadar of the Dekhan, there were Nawabs of districts holding under him, but in most of these cases the latter exercised very wide independent authority. In the case of the Marathas, whose "Peshwas" held their court at Poonah, about 120 miles south-east of Bombay,[1] they not alone claimed entire independence, but made attacks upon the Dekhan and elsewhere, and levied tribute wherever they could enforce it. These were the perplexing conditions with which the Europeans had to deal in all their relations with the inhabitants of the country, but with which the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the British contended at different times with varying success, the last-named alone having exercised any wide-spread and enduring influence in India.[2]

[1] By rail to-day.

[2] The connection of the Danes and Germans with India was as uninteresting as it was unimportant.

As for the Portuguese, only ten years elapsed between the arrival of their first expedition and the establishment of a viceroy in India; but during that period several fleets were fitted and sent out under the command of eminent soldiers and navigators. In 1498 Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached Calicut, on the south-west coast of India, which place was at that time governed by a Zamorin or Rajah, with whom the Portuguese established friendly relations. They returned to Portugal with proposals for trade, the Indian chief offering to barter spices for cloth and precious metals. Two years later another naval expedition was fitted out and dispatched under Cabral, but this time with more hostile intentions; conquest and the conversion of the natives, if necessary by coercive measures, were superadded to trading purposes. Cabral founded a trading factory at Calicut. In 1502 Vasco da Gama again sailed for Calicut with a considerable fleet, and this time, having quarrelled with the Zamorin, he attacked him in alliance with neighbouring chiefs. The following year the celebrated Alfonso de Albuquerque commanded a powerful expedition, and was followed in 1505 by Francisco de Almeida, similarly supported. Having failed to establish himself at Calicut, Albuquerque proceeded to Goa, where he landed an army, and founded the capital (which it still remains) of the Portuguese dependencies in India. Almeida was the first, and Albuquerque the second viceroy.[1]

The rule of the Portuguese in their own territories was cruel, and the religious persecution of the natives abominable; but in other parts of the country they founded useful religious communities, and were patronised by the ruling sovereigns, more especially by Akbar, who not only gave the Portuguese Jesuits an annual income for their maintenance, but allowed them to build churches at Agra and Lahore. The mission at Agra is one of the most flourishing in India, and some mention will be made of it hereafter. The Portuguese power flourished for about a century, but they were so much hated on account of their persecutions, that leagues of the native princes were

[1] Hunter's Indian Empire, p. 358, and his article "Goa" in the Imperial Gazetteer, contain much valuable information concerning the establishment of the Portuguese in India.

formed against them. These they resisted effectually, for their organisation and prowess were immensely superior to those of the natives, and they continued to extend their possessions until their maritime supremacy gave them the command of the whole trade of Asia east of the Cape of Good Hope. Only one of their viceroys, Albuquerque, managed to gain the affections of the natives by gentle and conciliatory rule, but a succession of tyrants aroused the enmity, not only of their own subjects, but, as already mentioned, of the neighbouring princes, so that when, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Dutch sought to wrest the command of the seas from them, the combined power of their enemies was too great for them, and they lost their maritime supremacy, and had even to submit to the bombardment of their capital.

The Portuguese dependencies or colonies in India are at present Goa and Daman, on the south and north respectively of Bombay, and Diu, a diminutive island and fortress at the southern extremity of Kathiawar. There are about 480,000 native Portuguese in those territories, besides about 50,000 half-castes in Bombay and Bengal. These latter are best known to the English through the so-called "boys" or servants of Bombay, many of whom are found acting as waiters in the hotels, whilst a considerable number, varying in efficiency and more or less honest, accompany travellers in the capacity of couriers and valets.

Although I do not propose attempting to give an historical account of the progress of Christianity in India, a few words regarding the missionary results of the Portuguese occupation may not be uninteresting. As already stated, Akbar supported the Portuguese Jesuits so far as to supply them with money and by allowing them to build churches, and his successor, Jahangir, also treated them with favour. Bernier, who, as a French Christian, naturally studied their character and movements, speaks highly of their charity and devotion to their duties. Of the missions he says:[1]—

"I am decidedly favourable to the establishment of missions and the sending forth of learned and pious missionaries. They are absolutely necessary, and it is the honour as well as the peculiar prerogative of

[1] Travels in the Mogul Empire, vol. i. p. 330 *et seq.*

Christians to supply every part of the world with men bearing the same character and following the same benign object as did the Apostles. You are not, however, to conclude that I am so deluded by my own love of missions as to expect the same mighty effects to be produced by the exertions of modern missionaries as attended the preaching of a single sermon in the days of the Apostles. I have had too much intercourse with infidels, and am become too well acquainted with the blindness of the human heart, to believe that we shall hear of the conversion in one day of two or three thousand men. I despair, especially, of much success among Mohammedan kings or Mohammedan subjects. Having visited nearly all the missionary stations in the East, I speak the language of experience when I say that whatever progress may be made among pagans by the instruction and" (*nota bene*) "alms of the missionaries, you will be disappointed if you suppose that in ten years one Mussulman will be converted to Christianity."

He goes on to say that the Mohammedans respect Jesus, calling him "Azeret," or majesty, and believing that he is the "Word of God," &c., but that they are more devotional than the Christians, and "it is vain to hope that they will renounce the religion in which they were born, and be persuaded that Muhammed was a false prophet." I would ask the reader to bear these opinions and experiences in mind when we come to consider the general question of missions and missionaries, and we will now pass on to consider the connection of the other European nationalities with India.

The history of the early Dutch occupation in India, of which architectural traces still remain, is no doubt interesting to a certain class of readers, but when it is mentioned that they possess absolutely no actual colony there, and that there are not a hundred Dutchmen in the country, it will be seen that, for our purposes, a few sentences concerning their past connection with it must suffice. It was they who practically drove the Portuguese from the Eastern seas, and during a great part of the seventeenth century they were the dominant maritime power in that part of the globe. Their first enterprises were amalgamated as the Dutch East India Company in 1602, and confining ourselves to India (for they, of course, acquired and still hold extensive possessions in what are sometimes called "the East Indies"), they established colonies or factories in Ceylon, on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, and in Bengal, where Chinsurah was the capital of their Indian dependencies, and they played a not very conspicuous part

in opposing French aggression in the Dekhan. They soon came into conflict with the British. Chinsurah was captured by Clive in 1759, and during the wars between the two nations the English gained possession of their remaining colonies. The Dutch occupation of India, so far as it extended, was used for purely commercial purposes, and they have left behind them no important political nor religious influences.

The history of the French colonisation and occupation in India, which is closely interlinked with that of our own settlement in the country, has been said by the leading English authority on the subject to have been the history of one man—Dupleix. "It is Dupleix who sheds the lustre of his great name upon the struggles of his countrymen for empire in the East. He did it all."[1] This is perhaps an exaggerated estimate of the work of Dupleix by his chief admirer and biographer, but there is no doubt that he played the same part as Clive, who was one of his most formidable opponents, and if he had been supported by the home Government, it is a question whether France would not, instead of England, have been the ruling power in India. As in the case of Portugal and Great Britain, the adventures of the French in India were at first largely, if not entirely, of a commercial character, the military and political elements having been introduced as the glittering baits of territorial possessions and the glory of power and conquest presented themselves to the adventurers.

Between the years 1616, when the first active undertaking was set on foot, and 1675, when François Martin founded what was originally the village of Phoolchery, and subsequently grew into the fortified city of Pondichery, the record of French adventure may be said to have been one of the establishment and failure of public companies and of attempts to obtain a foothold on Indian soil. Martin it was who, through concessions from and alliances with the native princes, succeeded in securing a settlement on the Coromandel coast.

[1] History of the French in India, p. 566, by Major G. B. Malleson. Longmans.

He was attacked by Sivaji, the Maratha leader, and subsequently (in 1693) by the Dutch, who captured and held Pondichery until the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, when it was restored to the French in a well-fortified condition. On his return, Martin built a considerable town, which is said in 1706 to have contained 40,000 inhabitants. He greatly extended the trade of the French in the district, was appointed director-general of French affairs in India, and died in the year just mentioned.

In 1719 the Compagnie des Indes, or, as it was subsequently called, the "Compagnie Perpetuelle des Indes," was established, very much on the same basis as our East India Company, and upon the ruins of previous failures; and through the financial schemes of a Scotch adventurer called Law, who resided in Paris, backed up by royal decrees, the shares in the concern were run up to an enormous premium, amidst scenes to which those of our South Sea Bubble present the only parallel. Men of all ranks, from beggars to princes of the blood, were smitten with the speculative mania, and in some instances enormous fortunes were realised, generally to be lost again when the crash came. "A cobbler made for some time 200 francs a day by establishing a stall for the supply of pens and paper for the calculations of the speculators, and men made a trade of lending their backs as desks upon which the speculators might write, and gained thereby considerable sums. The Duc de Bourbon realised twenty millions of francs, the Duc d'Antin twelve."[1]

Notwithstanding the collapse which naturally followed such an inflation, the French East India Company continued for a long time to play a somewhat similar part in India to that of our own Company, the chief difference being that the former appears to have depended more largely upon its own resources and armaments, and less upon the forces of the Crown. During the two decades following the foundation of the Company, French territory and influence were rapidly extended, and, as in our own case, the chief agents of this expansion were very young men. Already, in 1720, Joseph François Dupleix, the son of one of the directors of the French Company, at the age

[1] Malleson, p. 51.

of twenty-three years, was actively engaged, as second commissioner at Pondichery, in cultivating trade, for himself, by the way, as well as for his employers. Being some time afterwards removed as commissioner to the insignificant settlement of Chandernagore, on the Hughli River, he there created a thriving colony and connected its operations with lesser ones reaching as far as Patna, which had up to that time been mere French "lodges," or trading posts. Before he left Chandernagore, his commercial undertakings extended seaward as far as China in the east and Mocha in the west, as well as inland into Tibet.

Again, in 1725, La Bourdonnais, then the captain of a frigate in the French squadron, only a couple of years older than Dupleix, was at the commencement of his career, captured and hoisted the French flag upon Mahai or Mahé, on the south-west coast; whilst Dumas, the governor of, or rather at, Pondichery, managed through the jealousies and quarrels of the native princes, to extend the French territory in his neighbourhood, and notably to secure possession of Karikal and the surrounding country. Dumas, the chief authority in India, appears to have been a typical French *gentilhomme*, who, by his courteous demeanour and chivalrous and honourable acts, greatly raised his people in the estimation of the natives. During the Maratha raids into the Dekhan, the Nawab of the Carnatic, an ally and protector of the French, Dost Ali Khan, was defeated and killed, and the Marathas pressed on and attempted to overrun the whole country. His widow decided to seek refuge in Pondichery, and one fine day she appeared before the gates of that city along with her children, her dependants, her jewels, and other property, under the escort of a body of cavalry, and sent a message to the governor praying for admission and shelter. Dumas was himself apprehensive of an attack upon the city, which he had previously been strengthening, and he knew that the presence of the princess with her treasures would be an alluring bait to the Marathas, whilst his refusal to receive her would have secured him immunity from attack. He did not, however, hesitate a moment beyond the time that was necessary to call his council together and obtain their sanction to his proceedings, and then, throwing open the gates, he admitted the noble refugee and her

attendant company, and afforded them effectual protection, notwithstanding the approach and threats of her enemies. What would Warren Hastings, the spoliator of the Begums, have done with such a prize in his grasp?

In 1741, Dumas, having materially aided in bringing about the withdrawal of the Marathas from the Dekhan, retired from the governorship of French India. Honours had previously been showered upon him, not only by the Viceroy of the Dekhan, but by the Mughal Emperor Mahommed Shah, who conferred on him the rank and privileges of a Nawab, a title which Dumas considerately secured also for his successor. This was Dupleix, who had long been actively engaged in spreading the influence of his countrymen in Bengal, and whose energies and ambition found a wider field of activity at the head-quarters of the French colonies in India.

With the accession of Dupleix to power, the policy of the French in India was changed. He aimed, not at commercial pre-eminence alone, but step by step he acquired fresh territory, interfering actively in the internal affairs of the various rulers of the Dekhan, with the ultimate aim of securing the whole peninsula as a French dependency. As Dumas had been supported by La Bourdonnais at sea, so Dupleix was ably assisted not only by that admiral, but also by General Bussy on land; and the last-named it was who succeeded eventually in establishing the French power at Hyderabad and Aurungabad, and, conjointly with the governor, in becoming the virtual arbiter in the political affairs of the Dekhan. In all these enterprises, however, the French leaders had to reckon with two hostile powers, the Marathas of Poonah in the north-west, and the English in the east, the latter being under the capable leadership of Major Lawrence, Governor Saunders of Madras, and last, but not least, of a young man originally a clerk in the civil service, Robert Clive.

In 1741, war having broken out between England and France, Dupleix set about strengthening the defences of Pondichery as a protection against the English. This he is said to have effected at his own expense, and in opposition to the wishes of the directors. When, however, he succeeded, with the co-operation of La Bourdonnais, in repelling the

attacks of the English, those same directors graciously approved of what he had done and sent him their formal thanks. In 1746, the French, in their turn, attacked and captured Madras, their fleet being commanded by La Bourdonnais. Owing to dissensions and jealousies amongst the French leaders, La Bourdonnais withdrew from Madras, and a new governor was appointed in the person of M. Paradis, who treated the inhabitants with such harshness that many of them fled, including Robert Clive, who took refuge in the English fortress of St. David. That stronghold was also attacked, this time by General Bussy, but its defence was conducted by Clive with such ability that the French general was obliged to retreat with considerable loss. In all these conflicts the number of Europeans engaged was very small, the armies being largely composed of drilled sepoys with a large proportion of native allies, but the superior courage, arms, and organisation of the Europeans caused the brunt of the fighting to fall upon them, and with the exception of the Maratha horse, when they were engaged, the native troops had really little to do with the success or failure of an expedition. A handful of Frenchmen often defeated a whole army of natives, and, in one instance, 232 Frenchmen, aided by 700 native sepoys, without artillery, are said to have easily routed 10,000 native troops armed with field-pieces and led by Maphuz Khan, by no means a contemptible general.

By the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the *status quo ante* was agreed upon; Madras was restored to England, and the Indian struggle entered upon a new phase. The local jealousies still continued, as did the ambitious schemes of Dupleix, but, as the two nations were at peace, neither dared openly to attack the other. Both parties, therefore, lent their troops to support the native princes in their struggles for power, reserving for themselves an extension of territory wherever it was possible; and in this underhand strife and diplomatic game Dupleix showed himself by far the more capable tactician.

He assisted two of his protégés, Mozuffer Jung and Chunda Sahib, to secure the preponderance in the Dekhan, making the first Viceroy and the second Nawab of the Carnatic under him.

Mozuffer Jung was installed with great pomp in the French capital, Dupleix professedly paying, but actually receiving, homage on the occasion, and something more than homage, for himself and his country. A gorgeously decorated tent, such as one sees only in India, was erected in the great square, and surrounded by his nobles, the Viceroy took his seat upon a throne therein to receive the governor of French India, who, accompanied by Chunda Sahib, entered soon afterwards, and was motioned to another seat, so placed as to denote equality with the Viceroy. The gifts usually presented on such occasions were then tendered to both, and after the completion of this ceremony the Viceroy rose, and announced his intention to confer upon his ally the governorship of the country south of the river Kistna to Cape Comorin, including Mysore and the whole of the Carnatic. For a private donation he gave him the fortress of Valdaur near Pondichery, with villages and lands yielding an annual revenue of 100,000 rupees, and amongst other honours he allowed him to bear the ensign of the fish, an emblem of royalty.[1] He further directed that the currency of Pondichery should be that of the whole of Southern India, and confirmed the sovereignty of the French over several newly-acquired districts, including Masulipatam. "Then turning to Dupleix with the air of a vassal to his liege lord, he promised never even to grant a favour without his approval, and to be guided in all things by his advice."[2] Thereupon Dupleix, with diplomatic generosity and modesty, sought and obtained for Chunda Sahib the transfer of the actual sovereignty of the Carnatic; he—Dupleix—to retain the nominal dignity. As Malleson says, "He emerged from that tent the acknowledged superior and lord of Southern India." The whole scene presents an excellent picture of Oriental statecraft and diplomacy.

In the year 1751, Mozuffer Jung having been killed in battle, Dupleix placed another protégé, Salabat Jung, on the viceregal throne, and General Bussy took up his residence at Aurungabad, which was made the capital of the Dekhan, where, supported by a considerable body of European troops, he seems

[1] Amongst other places, the visitor to Lucknow will see this emblem conspicuously represented on the buildings, gateways, &c., of the Kaisar Bagh.

[2] Malleson, p. 269.

to have exercised the real authority, and to have guided the policy of the Viceroy as effectually as some of our Residents regulate the affairs of native Indian states at the present time. The power and influence of France was now at its zenith, extending over the whole of Southern India from the Kistna (Krishna) river and the Vindhya Hills to Cape Comorin. Soon, however, the influence of Clive and Lawrence made itself felt in the Carnatic, and in opposition to the French Nawab, Chunda Sahib, they supported the pretensions of a rival, Mohammed Ali. The last-named, aided by an English force, was in Trichinopoly, hard pressed by the French, and then it was that Clive conceived the daring plan of attacking Arcot, the Nawab's capital. On the 6th September 1751, whilst the attention of the French was directed to Trichinopoly, he left Madras with a small force comprising 200 English and 300 sepoys, and five days afterwards he appeared before Arcot, which was so feebly garrisoned that he entered and took possession of the place without opposition. This bold stroke of Clive had the effect of enormously raising the prestige of the English in the Dekhan, and of lowering that of the French in proportion; and the former was soon joined by native allies, who had either held aloof or sided with the French. Against a powerful force Clive not only succeeded in keeping possession of Arcot, but Lawrence and he relieved Trichinopoly and defeated Chunda Sahib and the French general Law, who were compelled to surrender themselves with their remaining forces.

After these reverses fortune appeared for a time to favour the French arms. Bussy at Aurungabad played his cards so well, that in 1753 the territory known as the Northern Circars was ceded to the French, and, at Bussy's suggestion, the capital of the Dekhan was transferred to Hyderabad. Notwithstanding that Lawrence and his forces performed prodigies of valour before Trichinopoly, that stronghold was reduced to great straits by the generals of Dupleix, who seemed likely to recover his lost prestige, and to become the undisputed ruler of the Dekhan. Then it was that the good genius of France began to desert her. When the news of Dupleix's reverses reached that country, and before his subsequent successes became known, negotiations were set on foot between Paris and

London with the view to bring about a cessation of hostilities in India; and the English having impressed upon their neighbours that it would be impossible to restore peace permanently whilst Dupleix was permitted to prosecute his ambitious designs, a new governor, Godeheu, was appointed and sent out, and Dupleix was recalled in the midst of his victorious career.

Dupleix never returned to India. By one means or another, chiefly through the instrumentality of his successor, Godeheu, he was stripped of his enormous fortune, which must have exceeded a million pounds sterling. His claims upon the French Company, which he pressed unsuccessfully for many years, remained unsettled, until at length, pursued by his creditors and persecuted by his enemies, he died in France in extreme poverty on the 10th November 1774. Three months before his decease his house was in the occupation of the bailiffs, and the man who had ruled an empire larger than France, at whose feet despots had bowed, who had given away kingdoms and provinces, "was treated as the vilest of mankind." "I am in the most deplorable indigence," he himself wrote; "the little property that remained to me has been seized. I am compelled to ask for decrees for delay, in order not to be dragged into prison." And yet, as we shall see, his end was merciful compared with the fate reserved for another of the brilliant sons of France, who followed in his footsteps. But we must hasten to the end.

After the departure of Dupleix, the new governor, Godeheu, relinquished many of the advantages his predecessor had secured for France. He deserted his generals and subordinates, leaving Bussy to shift for himself, or perplexing him by his irresolution and contradictory instructions. He manifested such a weak and craven disposition, that the native princes soon lost confidence in the French, and Governor Saunders of Madras gradually acquired the power that fell from his feeble hands. The English governor succeeded in making his protégé, Mohammed Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic, and thus secured a powerful ally in any future conflict with his French neighbours. This was not long deferred, for war having again broken out between the two nations, the French Government sent out General Lally with a strong naval and military force, and with almost

unlimited powers, to replace Godeheu as governor of French India, and, if possible, to drive the English out of the country.

Under most unfavourable conditions, Lally succeeded for a time in restoring, partially at least, the French prestige. The whole system of government was rotten. Corruption permeated the entire service; peculation was the order of the day; whilst jealousies prevented prompt or united action. Notwithstanding these obstacles, Lally, aided by Bussy, captured several English strongholds, amongst others Fort St. David; but, on the other hand, Colonel Forde, who was dispatched by Clive, then governor at Calcutta, to make an attack upon the Northern Circars, defeated the French, and then made a treaty with the Viceroy, by which the whole of that district was ceded to the English (1758). But the fate of the French in India was only decided about three years afterwards in the Carnatic. There, at Wandewash, a battle was fought between the contending powers—the French forces numbering about 5000, namely, 1350 Europeans, 1800 Sepoys, and 2000 Maratha cavalry, under Lally and Bussy; whilst the English, under Colonel Coote, possessed about an equal force, including, however, a somewhat larger proportion of Europeans. The battle itself would probably not have resulted in a decisive defeat but for the capture of Lally, who was taken prisoner, whereby Coote was enabled to press on and invest Pondichery, which place surrendered to him in January 1761, and with its capture the fate of the French in India was decided. One after another of their possessions changed hands, whilst Pondichery was restored, only to be recaptured time after time, until it was finally ceded to France after the peace of 1815.

Lally was sent a prisoner of war to England, and on his release he crossed over to his own country, to find himself, like his predecessor, Dupleix, surrounded by a host of enemies clamouring for his destruction. He was advised to flee, but, conscious of his innocence, he preferred to stand his trial, which was conducted with great virulence and a total absence of fair play. Three years after his arrival in France he was convicted of having betrayed French interests in India, was sentenced to death, and in May 1766 he was dragged from his prison and carried in a dung-cart to the scaffold.

Thus did France reward two of her bravest sons, Dupleix and Lally, who had raised up for her an empire in the East which, but for the imbecility of her rulers, might have remained in her possession down to the present day. She still holds in India Pondichery, Chandernagore, Karikal, Mahé, and Yanaon, with a few small patches of ground known as "*loges*," such as have been referred to in connection with the operations of Dupleix at Chandernagore. The whole of these represent an area of 196 square miles, with 273,283 inhabitants, of whom 1100 or 1200 are Europeans, and the remainder chiefly natives.[1]

The system of government adopted by France in India, and her continued presence there, are deserving of more serious consideration than that of the other European nationalities to whom reference has been made in this chapter. The present policy of her representatives differs from our own, inasmuch as far greater deference is exacted from the natives, who are at the same time treated with more courtesy than in British India. The French language is forced upon the people, not only by its compulsory adoption in schools, but by its insistance in the household; whilst in our territories the servants frequently speak in the vernacular, the use of which is also encouraged in public schools, and it rests with the parents whether or not a child shall be taught English. As a matter of fact, however, there is not much difference in the result, for self-interest in our territory is as powerful an incentive as compulsion is in that of the French.

Superficially regarded, the existing colonies of France in India appear to be unworthy of serious consideration from a political point of view; but insignificant as they are, the time may come when they would be more than an inconvenience. It is not probable that France would lightly challenge a contest with Great Britain, but it must not be forgotten that she is now virtually in alliance with Russia, our polite but determined rival in Asia, and the sole disturber of the peace of Europe. No doubt the object of this unnatural understanding, this *entente cordiale* between a republic and a despotism, has been come to, so far as France is concerned, for the recovery

[1] Hunter's Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. iv. p. 450 *et seq.*, 2nd edition, 1885; and Whittaker's Almanac, 1889, Foreign Countries—France.

of her lost provinces; but her recent action at Madagascar and Tong-king makes it clear that, until the time comes for striking a blow in Europe, she will seek a vent for her superfluous energies in the far East, where she may be called upon some day to co-operate with her European ally.

Almost every English writer on India, whether or not he may have resided there or only have visited the country, and to whatever political party he belongs, takes it for granted that, in case of a Russian invasion, security would have to be taken to prevent a rising in India itself. Only recently two careful observers made tours of the North-West frontier with the specific object of pursuing this inquiry. One of them, an intelligent young Conservative, speaks of "the imminent peril of a native rising behind," in case we should sustain a reverse upon the frontier;[1] the other, one of our ablest military critics and a Liberal statesman of wide experience, who accompanied the commander-in-chief in his last tour of inspection through the North-West, is of opinion that in case of a Russian invasion it would be necessary to obtain from England a trained force sufficiently strong "to counterbalance the armies of the native states and the native force that would be left in India," and he goes so far as to recommend that "the armies of the great southern feudatory states should be disbanded as such, that is, reduced merely to police guards."[2] In this connection, I would add to these expressions of opinion, not my own views (which would be of no value whatever on a military question), but the view I heard expressed by many of the older officers in various parts of India—(the younger men are too anxious for employment to consider the matter dispassionately)—that the present policy or proposed action of organising and placing arms of precision in the hands of the very forces which one of the above writers suggests should be disbanded, is suicidal and dangerous in the extreme. So far as these pages are concerned, it is only their function to draw attention to such dangers.[3]

[1] "The Scientific Frontier: An Accomplished Fact," by the Hon. G. N. Curzon, M.P., in the June number (1888) of the *Nineteenth Century*, p. 916.

[2] "The Baluch and Afghan Frontiers of India," by the author of "Greater Britain." *Fortnightly Review*, April 1889, p. 474.

[3] In an article entitled "A Bird's-Eye View of India," *Nineteenth Century*, June 1889, Sir M. G. Grant Duff points to a similar danger arising to that of

Let any one read in detail the history of the French in India, the success with which they formed alliances with weak native rulers, the eagerness with which these rulers courted the assistance of the French arms, the impatience with which some of the native rulers to-day chafe under the control of British Residents, the littoral nature of the French possessions and the recent extensions of the French and Russian fleets, and the fact that even now journals unfriendly to the English are published and issue from French territory,[1] and I am sure it will be seen that the subject is one of the gravest moment, deserving the most careful consideration.

1857, and says that "rallying-places" should be provided as shelter for non-combatants in such a contingency. If a rising should take place, it would, however, probably differ from that of 1857.

[1] Of this fact I shall give convincing proof in the chapter on the Press of India ("Editorial"). The danger has been recognised by the Indian Government since the above was written.

# CHAPTER X.

## EARLY BRITISH RULE IN INDIA—CLIVE AND WARREN HASTINGS.

The first East India Company, 1600—Early English adventurers and settlements—Sir Thomas Roe, first ambassador—Fort St. George, 1639—Bombay then and now—Surat and Madras—Early vicissitudes of traders—Foundation of Calcutta, 1689—The heroic period—Clive and Warren Hastings—Clive's earlier exploits—Siraj-ud-Dowla, 1756—The "Black Hole" episode and its consequences—Extinction of French power in India—Clive, Umachand, and Mir Jafar—The battle of Plassey—Elevation of Mir Jafar and execution of Siraj-ud-Dowla—Treatment and death of Umachand—Clive's exactions—Mill's account—Results of British extortions—Cowper on early British rule—Evil results in our day—Clive governor, 1758—His visit to England—Misrule in India and return of Clive—Extension of British power—Clive's final departure—Charges against, and treatment of him in the House of Commons—Commits suicide, 1774—Warren Hastings—His early years—Goes to India—Member of Governor's council, 1761—Returns to England, and occupations there—Re-enters active service in India, 1768—The Imhoff affair—Buys another man's wife—Appointed governor, 1772—The dual administration—Mohammed Reza Khan and Nuncomar—Termination of the dual system—High-handed acts of Hastings—Legal murder of Nuncomar—Exactions and cruelties of Warren Hastings—Sale of Allahabad and Kora—The Rohilla atrocities—Treatment of Chait Singh—Of the Begums of Oudh—Great work of Hastings—Governor-General, 1773—The "Regulating Act"—Sir Philip Francis—Internal reforms of Hastings—Conflicts with the Marathas—British defeat—Exploits of Goddard and Popham—Haidar Ali of Maisur (Mysore)—Invades the Carnatic and defeats the English at Perambaucum—Victories of Coote, the hero of Wandewash—Death of Haidar and succession of his son Tipu—Peace with the Marathas, 1784—Return of Hastings to England—Impeachment by the Commons—Deserted by Pitt—Burke and Francis—Charges against Hastings—Long trial and acquittal (1795) by the House of Lords—Generosity of the East India Company—Reappearance of Hastings, 1813—His death at Daylesford—Dupleix and Lally—Clive and Hastings—Brief comparison of French and British rule in India.

It was stated in a former chapter that Sir Thomas Roe visited Hindustan and was formally received as British ambassador at the court at Delhi in 1615, but the first East

India trading company, as the reader is doubtless aware, was founded and received a royal charter in 1600, its original capital being only £75,000, but this was afterwards increased to £400,000. Under its auspices several attempts were made to establish a trade with India, and in 1608 Captain Hawkins had an interview at Agra with the Emperor Jahangir, with a view to obtain trading privileges. In the face of Portuguese opposition, the English soon succeeded in opening out a trade on the west coast, and several adventurers distinguished themselves by their exploits. Amongst these were Captain Hawkins in the *Hector*, and Captain Best, who, with two vessels, successfully repelled an attack of the Portuguese at Surat. Sir Henry Middleton also arrived with a fleet at Surat in 1609, but he made little impression there. The first places at which the English founded factories were Surat, Cambay, and Ahmedabad; and it may be mentioned in passing that several rival trading companies were formed, and that eventually, in 1709, they were all amalgamated into one great corporation.

The condition in which our early traders and emissaries found the people of India has already been described. The Mughal power was at its zenith, and, like the French, the English were obliged for some years to confine their operations to trade and trade alone. Sir Thomas Roe made a virtue of this necessity. "War and traffic," he wrote, "are incompatible. At my first arrival, I thought a fort was very necessary, but experience teaches me we are refused it to our own advantage. If the Emperor would offer me ten, I would not accept one." This enforced self-denial, if I may be permitted the bull, on the part of our countrymen was not of long duration. Victorious at sea over the Dutch and Portuguese, they soon extended their settlements in India, and in 1639 Fort St. George was built at Madras, as a stronghold to protect the various trading stations that had been established on the Coromandel coast.

About this time we read of agencies or factories at Masulipatam (under a firman from the king of Golconda); at Hughli (1656), near the site of the present capital, Calcutta; at Lucknow, Agra, and Patna; and of another fort, St. David,

being constructed south of Madras, as a centre for commercial and naval enterprise. Bombay was originally a dependency of Surat, but no doubt my readers are acquainted with the remarkable fact that this, the second city of the British Empire, containing at the present time 773,196 inhabitants, was originally sold by Charles II. to the East India Company for £10 per annum, he having received it from the crown of Portugal as part of the marriage portion of Catherine of Braganza, and that the centre of British trade on the west coast was removed from Surat to Bombay (1668), which afterwards became the capital of the Presidency. Madras originally held a similar position on the east coast to Bombay on the west, and the colonies or stations in Bengal were at first considered dependent upon those two Presidencies.

From the foundation of these various settlements and factories until the seventeenth century was drawing to a close the fortunes of the English were subject to great vicissitudes. Owing to the misconduct of the traders or officials, Aurungzeb deprived them of their trading privileges at Hughli, Surat, and other places north of the Vindhya Hills, whilst the Mohammedans attacked Masulipatam and one or two other southern settlements, and murdered the traders there. They, however, gradually recovered their possessions, and in 1689, the centre of trade having been transferred to Calcutta, the East India Company fortified that city, claimed sovereign power, and set at defiance the Mughals and Marathas, by whom they had time after time been attacked and persecuted.

This brings us to what may be called the heroic period in the British occupation of India—the time of Clive and Warren Hastings—and although it is an oft-told tale, one that has formed the theme of many able historians, it is necessary that we should glance at it here, because it was at that period that the foundations of a system were laid, many of the features of which still continue to exist, for good or evil, under British rule.

In our brief review of the French occupancy, we saw how Robert Clive, originally a poor writer in the East India Company's service at Madras, by a *coup-de-main* captured and retained Arcot, the chief native city of the Carnatic, turning

the tide of victory against the French; how he distinguished himself at Trichinopoly and at Fort St. David; and we left him Governor at Calcutta, in which capacity he sent Forde to snatch the Northern Circars from the hands of the French, whose power was rapidly waning,—a successful expedition, which was followed by the acquisition of the whole of the southern French possessions for our rising empire in India.

But before he was permanently installed at Calcutta, Clive in his military capacity had been called upon to avenge one of the most atrocious deeds that was ever perpetrated even by an Oriental despot. In the year 1756, the Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-Dowla (usually called Surajah Dowlah), a cruel and depraved tyrant, who regarded the presence of the English in his territory with jealousy and hatred, made a sudden attack upon Calcutta, where one of his subjects, a merchant, had taken refuge. After seizing his victim, he drove the English Governor out of the town, and demanded the treasure of the traders, who had been allowed to remain, but had subsequently been led as prisoners into his presence. Dissatisfied with the amount that was surrendered to him, he ordered his captives to be confined in the garrison prison, known as the "Black Hole." Into this dungeon, which was about twenty feet square, perforated with the smallest apertures for the admission of light and air, 146 men and women were driven at the point of the sword, and left for the night, whilst the despot was indulging in a protracted debauch. The scene that was witnessed by the laughing guards who looked in through the openings, the struggles of the victims, dying one after another from suffocation, has been so often described, that it needs no repetition here. Suffice it to say, that of the 146 prisoners who were incarcerated, only twenty-three survived and were liberated, half dead, on the following morning; the dead bodies of the remainder were cast into a well, which was dug for the occasion.

It was to avenge this deed and regain possession of Calcutta that Clive and Watson left Madras and made a descent upon the former place, which they recovered, and then stormed and sacked Hughli. Siraj-ud-Dowla, who was at Murshidabad, collected an army, and moved rapidly in the direction of the

English, but thinking better of his resolution to attack them, he offered terms of peace, which the survivors at Calcutta induced Clive to accept, restoring to them their possessions, and making compensation for the losses they had sustained.

It is believed by some that Siraj-ud-Dowla was not guilty of the intentional massacre of the English, his desire being only to hold them prisoners, and by that means extort a further sum of money from them. But be that as it may, the punishment of his barbarity was not long deferred. No sooner had he made terms with Clive than he began to intrigue with the French to drive the English out of Bengal, but the latter anticipated the hostile movement by attacking and capturing the French settlement of Chandernagore, and taking along with it 500 French prisoners. Siraj-ud-Dowla now openly made common cause with the French, whilst Clive, who had by this time become thoroughly indoctrinated into Oriental methods, employed a Bengalee, a merchant called Umachand (or Omichund) to enter into negotiations with Mir Jafar (Meer Jaffier), the faithless general of the Nawab, to desert his master, and receive his crown in consideration of his treachery. Clive then marched with a comparatively insignificant force, consisting of about 3000 men, of whom about 2000 were native sepoys, but well officered, along with eight or ten good field-guns, to meet the Nawab, who was at the head of an army variously estimated at from 35,000 to 50,000 foot, 15,000 to 18,000 cavalry, and about fifty large guns.[1]

The contending forces met near the field and groves of Plassey, where the battle was fought that sealed the fate of Bengal, and helped to set the fabric of British rule in India upon a solid foundation. The battle has often been described by experts, including the victor himself, and I shall therefore confine myself to a brief account of the facts.

Clive found himself on his arrival at Plassey opposed to the vast army of Siraj-ud-Dowla, with a river intervening between his enemy and himself, and not having any confidence in his treacherous ally, he called a council of war, at which it was

[1] The accounts of the number and description of the troops under Clive vary considerably. One writer says 650 Europeans and 2100 sepoys; another (on Clive's authority), 1000 Europeans and 2000 sepoys; a third, 2000 Europeans and 1000 sepoys. One says he had eight, another ten guns.

decided to retreat. Such a movement, however, would have been attended with grave dangers, and Clive subsequently changed his mind, and crossing the river, he took up his position in a grove of trees situated amongst mudbanks. Here he was attacked by the enemy on the following morning, July 23, 1757, but he managed to hold his ground until mid-day, when the enemy retired to his camp for rest and refreshment. Then it was, whilst they were cooking their food, that Clive gave the order to advance and attack them in their encampment. Mir Jafar, who commanded the enemy's cavalry, lent Clive no assistance, but held himself aloof to see which way the tide would turn, and in his account of the battle, Clive says that he feared Mir Jafar's approach, and even fired upon him to keep him at a distance. In the impetuous onslaught of the English, several of the enemy's officers were killed, and the Nawab himself taking fright, escaped from the field on a camel, whilst his troops, deprived of their leader, fled in confusion. Mir Jafar then approached, in considerable doubt as to how he would be received, but it answered the purpose of Clive to overlook what is called his double treachery, and according him a hearty welcome, the two proceeded to Murshidabad, where Clive placed him on the viceregal throne. Shortly after this, Siraj-ud-Dowla was captured, and brought into the presence of his former general, where he exhibited a craven spirit, and was ordered off for immediate execution.

Without exaggerating the importance of this exploit of Clive, it may fairly be pronounced to be typical of British courage and determination, as shown in many a subsequent hard-fought battle, but it must be admitted that what followed is equally representative of our early policy in India.

The negotiations between Clive and Mir Jafar were carried on, as already stated, through the medium of the Bengalee, Umachand, who held secret communication with Mr. Watts at Murshidabad. Whilst these negotiations were in progress, the Bengalee demanded as remuneration thirty lakhs of rupees (£300,000), under a threat of betrayal, and thereupon Clive inserted in his treaty with Mir Jafar a stipulation of that amount for Umachand. This treaty he showed to him in order to satisfy his demand, but at the same time he made out

a second in which the stipulation was omitted. It is said that Admiral Watson refused to sign the treaty, and that Clive forged his signature. When Umachand demanded his reward after the battle of Plassey, Clive refused payment, and showed him the duplicate copy of the treaty in which his name was omitted, and which was in reality the valid agreement; and the disappointment of the Bengalee was so great that he became insane, and died shortly afterwards.

Again, after the elevation of Mir Jafar, a great portion of the Nawab's treasure was sent to Calcutta for the East India Company, but a considerable part of it also found its way into the hands of the officials. The amount sent is said to have been £800,000 sterling, but besides receiving about £230,000 in cash, Clive had conferred upon him by the Emperor the annual land-tax on a large district round Calcutta, known as "Clive's Jagir," and considerable sums were distributed amongst the officials. In his essay on Lord Clive, Macaulay[1] condones this breach of trust, on the ground that such presents were customary, and speaks of Clive as "walking between heaps of gold and silver, crowned with rubies and diamonds, and being at liberty to help himself. He accepted," says the great essayist, "between two and three hundred thousand pounds." As a matter of fact, this system of mulcting the native princes has been one of the dark phases of our Indian policy, and, as we shall see, it has led more than once to the perpetration of crimes of a far more serious character.

The following are the details of some of the transactions in Clive's day, and they will convey to the reader a fair illustration of the whole system. According to James Mill,[2] the princes and natives of Bengal paid the following sums after the revolution in favour of Mir Jafar in 1757:—

| | Rupees. | |
|---|---|---|
| To Drake, governor . . . . . | 280,000 = | £31,500 |
| To Colonel Clive as second on the council . | 280,000 | |
| To Colonel Clive as commander-in-chief . | 200,000 | |
| To Colonel Clive, private donation . | 1,600,000 | |
| Total to Clive . | 2,080,000 = | £234,000 |

[1] Critical and Historical Essays, p. 521. Longmans, 1877.

[2] The History of British India, by James Mill, 4th edition, with notes by H. H. Wilson, vol. iii. (1848), pp. 367, 368, 370.

| | Rupees. | |
|---|---|---|
| To Mr. Watts, member of council . . | 240,000 | |
| To Mr. Watts, private donation . . | 800,000 | |
| Total to Mr. Watts . . | 1,040,000 = | £117,000 |
| To Major Kilpatrick . . . . | 240,000 | |
| To Major Kilpatrick, private donation . | 300,000 | |
| Total to Major Kilpatrick . . | 540,000 = | £60,750 |
| To Mr. Becker . . . . . | 240,000 = | £27,000 |
| Total . . . | | £470,250 |

Nearly £500,000 was therefore paid to servants of the Company in this one transaction; and in addition to the land-tax referred to, it is known that Clive received further donations from the native princes in after years. The total amount received by the Company, its officials, and the army and navy, as the result of the Mir Jafar revolution, was close upon £2,700,000.

Now the evil consequences of this system were not limited to the officials, for their example was followed by all classes of Englishmen. Men went out to India "as poor as church mice," and in a few years they returned rolling in wealth. How was that wealth acquired? If they stood high in the official scale, they lent the influence, and even the sword, of England to native princes in their feuds with their neighbours, receiving their reward more or less openly in sums of money which were necessarily extorted by the princes from their unfortunate subjects. If they were men of lower rank or merchants, they compelled the native traders to sell their produce and manufactures at whatever price they liked to put upon them; and inasmuch as the officials themselves traded largely with the sanction of their superiors, who did likewise, they were enabled by threats and oppression to make considerable additions to their scanty salaries. But the English were not content to grasp the material possessions of the conquered race; they even borrowed their vices, and down to a very recent period the system of which the Eurasians are the fruits, of keeping a number of native concubines, grew to be a common practice amongst our countrymen. In his poem "The

Expostulation," Cowper graphically describes the early system of British rule and its votaries in India:—

> "Hast thou, though suckled at fair Freedom's breast,
> Exported slavery to the conquered East?
> Pulled down the tyrants India served with dread,
> And raised thyself, a greater, in their stead?
> Gone thither armed and hungry, returned full,
> Fed from the richest veins of the Mogul,
> A despot, big with power, obtained by wealth,
> And that obtained by rapine and by stealth?
> With Asiatic vices stored thy mind,
> And left their virtues and thine own behind?
> And having trucked thy soul, brought home the fee,
> To tempt the poor to sell themselves to thee?[1]

And now a few words as to the consequences of this system in our day. In spite of a great deal that has been said to the contrary, and notwithstanding that there are men amongst us in England to-day, even members of Parliament, who openly advocate a continuance of the old system in a new form, who say that we ought not to govern India in the interests of her people, but as despots for the material advantage of Great Britain only, that is not the desire of the British nation, nor is it indeed the policy of the Indian Government. Part of the old regime and of the early methods have unfortunately descended to our time, but they are a source of perplexity and not of strength; and unfortunately, where the change for the better has been recent, the natives are still unable to realise it. India swarms with the descendants, more or less immediate, of the immoral connection between the two branches of the Aryan race, or between Englishmen and Mohammedan women. On one occasion I was discussing the Eurasian problem with a cultivated native in Calcutta, and he cut me short abruptly with, "Well, that is your fault, the fault of your people!" And, as I have shown, one of the native pleas advanced for the continued seclusion of women in India is that the

[1] In quoting these lines I have followed the example of Harriett Martineau in her admirable historical sketch called "British Rule in India" (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1857), which I would cordially recommend to my readers, although it contains some errors which have been corrected by more recent writers.

English would not respect their virtue if they were allowed to be at large.

Again (to anticipate a little), on the return of Clive from his visit to England, and under the rule of Warren Hastings, in the face of mutinies of the civil and military officers, their right to trade was stopped, but as a compensation they received very high salaries and pensions. To-day, the British civil servants consider it a grievance when an attempt is made to lower those salaries, or when they are reduced through an unfavourable exchange. On the other hand, when the natives who have been educated for the public service come forward and say, "We are prepared to do the work for lower salaries; we have no relations in a distant and alien land whose existence necessitates a separate establishment; it is we who pay the money, and we ought to participate to the full in our taxation," the cry of sedition is raised by the organs of the official classes, and is echoed by ignorant men in the House of Commons. Truly indeed God visits the sins of the fathers upon successive generations; and the well-intentioned rulers of India to-day are hampered and harassed, and the good work of social reformers is thwarted, by the inherited results of the misdeeds of Clive and Hastings, and of their subordinates.

In 1758 Clive was formally appointed governor of the East India Company's settlements in India, and the following year he visited England, being succeeded by Mr. Vansittart, with a council, one of the members of which was Warren Hastings. He remained in England for about five years to enjoy the honours that were showered upon him by his countrymen; contested seats and entered Parliament; was raised to the peerage of Ireland; bestowed a share of his great fortune upon his relatives, and managed in one way or another to dispose of the bulk of it in various other ways.

In 1765 the state of affairs in India once more necessitated his return to that country, and he was reappointed governor. During his absence the misconduct of Mir Jafar led the council to depose him, and his uncle, Mir Kasim, was elevated to his place; but he too quarrelled with the Company, and attacked and massacred the English in Patna, which place was, however, recaptured and occupied by the British troops. United with

the Nawab of Oudh, Mir Kasim for some time defied the English, but he was at length overcome and deprived of his throne; and on the return of Clive the Mughal Emperor conferred the Diwani or virtual sovereignty of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa upon the East India Company, in return for an annual tribute of twenty-six lakhs, or £260,000.

This concession was the most important that Clive obtained, for it assured the position of the British in India; and after he had effected the reforms to which reference has already been made, he once more left the country in 1767, covered with glory—this time to encounter a fate differing but little from that which was meted out to his great rivals, Dupleix and Lally.

On his return to England, he lived for some time in great state in London, and exercised considerable influence in Parliament. Soon, however, he was overtaken by the animosity of the men whose privileges he had curtailed whilst he was in India. In the House of Commons he was accused of malpractices, being charged more especially with having received large sums from Mir Jafar, and this charge was also raked up against him at the East India Company's council. As Macaulay has said: "He was hated throughout the country; hated at the India House; above all by those wealthy and powerful servants of the Company whose rapacity and tyranny he had withstood. He had to bear the double odium of his bad and his good actions, of every Indian abuse and every Indian reform."[1] There is probably not one of my readers but who is as well acquainted as myself with the end. Deserted by his friends and supporters, Clive defended himself eloquently in Parliament, and although some of his acts were pronounced to have been unjustifiable and were condemned as bad examples, which they undoubtedly were, yet eventually a motion was put and carried without a division, to the effect that he had rendered great and meritorious services to his country.

Whilst these events were passing in Parliament, Clive had indeed been received with distinction by the King, who had conferred upon him the Knighthood of the Bath; but the clamour of his enemies and the worry of his defence so preyed

[1] Critical and Historical Essays, p. 537.

upon his mind, that, on the 22nd November 1774, at the early age of forty-nine, he died by his own hand.

The work that had been successfully initiated by Clive, namely, the foundation of the British Empire in India, was continued with equal success by Warren Hastings by similar means and methods. Hastings was born at Daylesford, in Worcestershire, on the 6th December 1772, and belonged to an old but impoverished family. At the age of eight he was sent to a school at Newington by an uncle who was in good circumstances, and he is said to have already shown signs of promise at that early age through his diligence and industry. His uncle dying later on, a friend of the family secured him an appointment as writer in the East India Company's service at Calcutta. He was then only seventeen years of age. From Calcutta he was removed to the Company's station near Murshidabad, the capital of the Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowla; and when the latter made his expedition against Calcutta which led to the "Black Hole" catastrophe, young Hastings was detained a prisoner on his parole. He, however, fled to Fulda, an island in the Hughli, where the Governor of Calcutta had taken refuge, and shouldering a musket, he served under Clive when he came to relieve the latter place. After the defeat of Siraj-ud-Dowla he was appointed the Company's commercial agent at Murshidabad. In 1761, at the age of twenty-nine, he was again transferred to Calcutta, having been nominated a member of the council, and three years later he had already amassed a moderate fortune and returned home to England.

The intellectual tastes of Hastings were very dissimilar from those of Clive, but he rivalled him in his extravagance. During a stay of four years in England he was a diligent student of Oriental languages, but squandered his fortune, and in 1768 he was compelled to take active service once more, and having applied for the office of member of the Madras Council, he was at once appointed to the post, and took his departure for India. On his way out he fell in love with a Madame Imhoff, who was on board the same vessel with her husband, a German or Russian "baron," a portrait-painter, and Hastings purchased her from him on the following terms and

conditions:—It was agreed that Madame Imhoff should apply for a divorce—collusive, of course—in Germany, continuing to live with her husband until it was obtained, and that Hastings should then marry her, and pay the purchase-price to her husband. The agreement was faithfully carried out. The divorce was obtained many years afterwards; the lady and her children were transferred to Warren Hastings, then Governor-General, who thereupon married her and paid the purchase-price to her former husband, who returned to Europe and bought an estate in Saxony with the fruits of his infamous bargain. Macaulay has sought to cast a halo of romance over this transaction, but it seems to me only to have possessed one merit—it was less discreditable than similar intrigues at a later period, when prominent officials dispensed with those formalities which Hastings deemed necessary for the maintenance of his respectability. During his subsequent trial in England, both he and his wife were painfully reminded, by the pens of the satirists, of their former relations.

After the final return of Clive to England, the Government of India once more fell into disorder, and Hastings was removed from Madras to Calcutta, where his conspicuous abilities led to his appointment, first, in 1772, as Governor, and in 1774 as Governor-General, of the English possessions of India; the difference in the signification of the two titles will be explained presently. It has already been mentioned that the British exercised virtual sovereignty over Bengal, of which province they collected the revenues; but there existed at the same time what was known as the dual administration, which was instituted by Clive, but was afterwards found to be very inconvenient. Under this system a Nawab, the infant son of Mir Jafar, was retained at Murshidabad, nominally as a vassal of the Emperor, and the former received about £600,000 per annum, out of which a moiety was paid to the Emperor as tribute. A minister, who was the actual ruler, was appointed by the British at a further stipend of about £100,000, and to him the care and custody of the infant prince were confided. For this office there had been two rival aspirants, Mohammed Riza Khan, a Mussulman, and the Maharajah Nuncomar, a Hindoo (Brahmin), and Clive had found it very difficult to

decide upon the merits of the respective applicants. He, however, eventually selected the Mohammedan, whereupon, as usual in such cases, Nuncomar at once began intriguing to displace him.

Hastings, finding the dual system both inconvenient and expensive, and being pressed by his directors for money, determined to put an end to it, and he carried out his object with a high hand, and apparently without any scruples of conscience. He arrested Mohammed Riza Khan at Murshidabad, and another minister of the Nawab at Patna, and had them both conveyed under escort to Calcutta. The latter he liberated at once, but Mohammed Riza Khan, against whom various charges had been brought by his rival Nuncomar, was detained some time in confinement before being set at liberty. Nuncomar, however, gained nothing by his intrigues, for Hastings distrusted him, and, enraged at his failure, he now directed his animosity and used his influence against the Governor; and had it not been for a bold but unscrupulous stroke on the part of the latter, he would have succeeded by intriguing with the Governor's opponents in the council in making his position there untenable. Hastings, although not the ostensible prosecutor, caused him to be arrested for felony, and brought before the Chief Justice, Impey, with whom Hastings is said to have been in collusion. He was found guilty of forgery, said to have been committed six years previously, and in spite of the protestations of the council, and of many high officials and others, Nuncomar, a Brahmin and a man of great influence, was sentenced to death and executed by hanging, to the horror of the whole native population. He met his fate with dignity and composure.

Meanwhile Hastings, by putting an end to the dual government—for no successor was appointed in place of the deposed minister—and by reducing the salary of the young Nawab to £160,000, saved a considerable sum to the Company, who, as already stated, were clamouring for larger remittances from their Indian territories.[1]

But not content with effecting a saving in the Company's

[1] For details on this subject see Hunter's "Statistical Account of Bengal," District Murshidabad, vol. ix. pp. 172-195.

expenditure, Hastings had recourse to various other devices, even more equivocal, to meet the demands of his employers. On acquiring the sovereignty of Bengal for the British, his predecessor, Clive, along with the tribute to the Emperor at Delhi, had ceded to him Allahabad and Kora; but the Emperor was now a prisoner in the hands of the Marathas who were the enemies of the English. Warren Hastings, therefore, again disposed of those two places to the Nawab Wazir of Oudh for the sum of £500,000 and ceased to pay the tribute, saving in one way or another more than half a million annually to the Company. This may have been a pardonable transaction, but it was followed by others for which he was subsequently placed on his trial, and which have tarnished his great reputation for all time. The valley of Rohilkand, between Delhi and the Himalayas, was at that time peopled by an independent tribe of Afghans, the so-called Rohillas, whose territory was coveted by the Nawab of Oudh, and, in order to assist him in the fulfilment of his desire, Hastings agreed, it is said for a large sum of money, to lend him a British contingent. These troops were allowed to co-operate with the savage hordes of the Nawab, and they took an active part in all the horrors and cruelties that were inflicted upon the inhabitants of Rohilkand. The whole country was ravaged with fire and sword, and upwards of one hundred thousand people fled before the invaders and took refuge in the jungle, in many cases to become the prey of beasts as savage as the ruthless soldiery. This was the work to which Hastings contributed by the loan of a British force. He next proceeded against another native ruler, Chait Singh, the Raja of Benares, whom he deposed on the ground that he had been in correspondence with the enemies of this country, and had refused to pay tribute and to supply auxiliaries, and placing his nephew on the throne, he demanded a considerable sum from the latter by way of compensation. In this he was but partially successful, and he then determined to secure the property of the wife and queen-mother of the deceased Nawab of Oudh, the Begums, who were known to be extremely wealthy, and whom he also accused of having intrigued with his enemies. For a considerable time the ladies resisted his attempt at extortion,

although he kept them prisoners in the private apartments of their palace at Fyzabad, which was forcibly occupied by a body of English troops. Two aged eunuchs, who managed the affairs of the princesses, were removed to Lucknow, where they were imprisoned and put to the torture to extract information and to intimidate their mistresses into submission, whilst the latter were so scantily supplied with food that some of their attendants nearly perished from hunger. Through these barbarous and unscrupulous measures, Hastings succeeded in extorting from the princesses about £1,200,000 with which to satisfy the pressing demands of the directors; and believing that cruelty and persecution would be of no further avail, he liberated the eunuchs and ceased to molest the princesses.

It would, however, be unfair to Hastings to recount the tyrannical proceedings which disgraced his administration without referring to his great merits as a patriot and statesman. For much that was wrong in his dealings the directors of the East India Company were primarily responsible in pressing upon him demands for money which could not be obtained by legitimate means; whilst his acts for the improvement and better government of the British dependency and his successful military operations must be ascribed to his own wisdom and courage. In 1773 he was raised from the rank of Governor to that of Governor-General, and this change, which gave him extended authority, was brought about by the Ministry of Lord North, who introduced and carried in Parliament the measure known as the "Regulating Act" for the better government of India, which provided for the appointment of a Governor-General and four councillors, with a casting vote to the former. Amongst the councillors was Sir Philip Francis, the reputed author of the "Letters of Junius," who, from the time of his arrival in India, condemned many of the acts of Hastings, and sometimes left him in a minority in the council. It was during a contention of this kind that Hastings compassed the downfall and destruction of Nuncomar, who, as already stated, had intrigued with his opponents in that body. Notwithstanding these difficulties, however, he introduced many internal reforms, including a better method of raising a revenue

from the land, which was modified by his successor, Lord Cornwallis, and led to what is known as the "Permanent Settlement," whereby the assessment was made lasting, instead of being periodically varied, to the great dissatisfaction of the cultivators of the soil, and at a constantly recurring expense to the Government.

In addition to the enemies whom his policy had raised up in Bengal, Hastings had to contend with others in every part of India. Besides defeating the Marathas, who were in alliance with the French, and completely extinguishing the power of the latter in India, he carried on an active campaign against the Marathas in the west. They there occupied Berar, Baroda, Guzerat, and the provinces ruled by Sindia, Holkar, &c., and which are still held by their descendants under the British suzerainty,[1] their capital being Poona, the residence of their "Peishwa" or nominal head. The British had been very unfortunate in their encounters with this warlike race, who had defeated Colonel Egerton at Wargaum, and compelled him to make a humiliating treaty, by which the English agreed to relinquish all the territory they had acquired during preceding years. Hastings, however, refused to confirm the capitulation, and ordered two British officers, General Goddard and Captain Popham, to cross the continent and restore our lost prestige. The former captured Ahmedabad and Bassein and reduced the province of Guzerat; whilst Captain Popham took, in 1780, along with other places, the stronghold of Gwaliar (Gwalior), which had been considered impregnable. But Hastings was unable to retain the fruits of these triumphs, for he had been confronted in the interim with a far more formidable antagonist than the Marathas, in the person of Haidar Ali of Mysore, and in 1782 he made peace with the former, restoring their captured fortresses and territories, and retaining only Salsette and Elephanta.

Haidar or Hyder Ali was a Mussulman adventurer, who had succeeded in raising himself to the throne of Mysore, and who, encouraged by the French, availed himself of the per-

[1] For a full account of the past and present relations between the native states and the British, I must refer the reader to Colonel Malleson's "Historical Sketch of the Native States of India in Subsidiary Alliance with the British Government." Longmans, 1875.

plexities of the English in Bengal to fall into the Carnatic in 1780 with a large army, chiefly officered by Frenchmen. In September of that year he defeated Colonel Baillie at Perambaucum, and overran the whole country round Madras, which he ravaged with fire and sword. As soon as the news of the invasion reached Calcutta, Hastings at once dispatched Sir Eyre Coote, the hero of Wandewash, to Madras, deposing the governor who had shown himself unequal to the occasion, and within three months of the British defeat, Coote, although an aged man, had encountered and defeated Haidar at Porto Novo, near Pondichery, and subsequently at Pollilore, Sholinghur, and Arnee. Haidar Ali died the following year, and was succeeded by his son Tipu, who evacuated the Carnatic, and made peace with the English in 1784.

The year following, Hastings having established peace and security in our Indian Empire as it was then constituted, once more returned to England, where he was cordially welcomed by the directors of the East India Company, and was received with distinguished honour by the King and Queen; but, as in Clive's case, this sunshine was not of long duration.

Almost immediately after his return to England, Edmund Burke gave notice in the House of Commons that he should demand an inquiry into his administration, and at the same time Hastings and his wife became the subjects of scurrilous attacks and lampoons from the pens of hired scribblers. In his proposed impeachment, for that was the form ultimately taken by the prosecution, Burke had the eager and able support of Sir Philip Francis, who had entered Parliament; and when a motion was brought formally before the House of Commons condemning Hastings' treatment of Chait Sing, Pitt, the Prime Minister, who had up to that time been favourable to the ex-Governor-General, deserted his cause and joined the ranks of his enemies. Hastings was brought to trial before the House of Lords on the 13th February 1788, the charge against him being "high crimes and misdemeanours"—that he had mulcted the Raja of Benares; had been guilty of cruelty and exaction in his dealings with the Begum of Oudh, and that he had extorted money from the native princes for his own use.

Is it necessary that I should repeat the oft-told story of his protracted trial? how it was supported by the secret promptings of Francis, who was not permitted to take an open part in the prosecution? how, in the presence of a crowd of peers and peeresses, Burke, with his accustomed eloquence, launched his accusations against the great Indian statesman? how he was followed by Fox, and Grey, and Sheridan? and how, as in a somewhat parallel case to-day, the public interest in the prosecution suddenly collapsed? It was apparent from the beginning that Hastings would not be convicted of the charges that had been brought against him, but, as the reader is aware, the trial dragged its weary length through seven tedious years, during which time such changes had taken place in the *personnel* of the House of Lords, that when the trial came to an end in 1795, the court which acquitted him was not the same before which he had been originally impeached.

The costs of the trial, which amounted to about £75,000, would have reduced Hastings to abject poverty had not the directors of the East India Company supported and befriended him. Besides giving and lending him occasional sums of money when he required them, they paid him a regular annuity of £4000 a year, and when the trial was over, he was able to retire to his ancestral home at Daylesford, where he lived twenty-three years, spending his time in literary and horticultural pursuits. In 1813 he once more appeared upon the scene, having been summoned as a witness before the House of Commons on the renewal of the East India Company's charter, and he was received by the committee with marks of great respect. Subsequently he was sworn a member of the Privy Council, and it was thought by many that a peerage would be conferred upon him. That honour was, however, withheld, and he ended his days in peace, and was interred at Daylesford at the ripe old age of eighty-six years.

It has not been my intention, in laying before my readers this imperfect sketch of the careers of Clive and Warren Hastings, to do more than refer to such leading incidents in their rule as have exercised an influence on the fortunes of the British in India. Perhaps the reader may have had present in his mind and may have connected the characters and work of

the four great statesmen—Dupleix, Lally, Clive, and Hastings. The first two were Frenchmen by birth and Frenchmen in nature, and the instability which even now characterises our volatile neighbours was illustrated in India by the treatment of their heroes, and by the rapid rise and fall of their power in the East. On the other hand, the empire that was founded by Clive and Hastings has been consolidated by one governor-general or viceroy after another, every one of whom has striven manfully and patriotically, though not all with equal ability, to establish it upon a permanent foundation. It is not my intention, however, to follow the successive administrations in detail, for that would go beyond the scope of this treatise; but, having briefly touched upon certain changes that have occurred during the British supremacy, I shall ask the reader to consider with me the present condition of India as it appears to one who has been educated and trained in the free atmosphere of Western civilisation.

# CHAPTER XI.

## THE BRITISH SUPREMACY IN INDIA.

Policy of British viceroys—Extension of territory—Defeat and death of Tipu, and partition of Maisur—Annexation of the Doab and Rohilkand—Wars with the Marathas—Lord Wellesley and Sir Arthur Wellington—Acquisition of the North-West Provinces—Final defeat of the Marathas, 1817—Annexation of the Peishwa's territory, &c.—British operations in Burmah—Final annexation, 1886—Annexation of Sind—Temporary occupation of Cabul—Wars with the Sikhs—British victories and reverses—Deposition of Dhuleep Singh and annexation of the Punjab—Misrule in Oudh—Lord Dalhousie—Deposition of Wajid Ali and annexation of Oudh—Changes in the British government—The Board of Control, 1784—Its constitution and powers—The Sepoy mutiny, 1857—Previous mutinies of native troops—Their causes—Hindoo prejudices to-day—A personal experience—Causes of the last mutiny—The greased cartridges—Annexation policy—Nana Sahib—Fear of enforced Christianity—Outbreak of the mutiny at Meerut—The mutineers capture and hold Delhi—The siege—Story of the assault and capture of the Kashmir Gate—Hodson of the "Guides"—Shoots the Emperor's sons—Deposition and exile of the last of the Mughals—The Kashmir Gate to-day—Its inscription—Lucknow seized by the mutineers—Lawrence retires into the Residency—Relieved by Havelock and Outram—Death of Lawrence—Final rescue by Sir Colin Campbell—The Residency to-day—Sufferings of the besieged—Death of Havelock—Poor monument to his memory—Cawnpur—Sufferings of British under Wheeler—Capitulates to Nana Sahib—Nana's treachery—Massacre of Wheeler and his garrison—Butchery of the women and children—The well—Scene of the massacre to-day—The Memorial Gardens—The beautiful monument and its sad memories—Their influence to-day—English inconsistencies—Results of the mutiny—Abolition of the East India Company and transfer of government to the Crown—Partial confiscation of rebel estates—Changes in the form of government—Its present constitution—A benevolent despotism—Transition to a constitutional monarchy—Admission of natives to Government offices—Act of William IV.—Royal proclamation after the mutiny—Beneficent rule under the Crown—Conclusion of Part I.

AT the close of the last chapter it was stated that, from the time of Warren Hastings to the present day, there has been a succession of governors-general and viceroys (there have been twenty-nine in all, permanent or temporary) who have laboured

zealously to establish the British rule in India, and let me now add that, so far as the viceroys of the Crown were concerned, they have in the main endeavoured, concurrently with that object, to promote the welfare and happiness of the native population of that vast empire, whether they were directly governed by ourselves, or whether they remained more or less virtually the subjects of native princes.

To consider, first, the growth of our Indian possessions, it may be noted that under Lord Cornwallis (1786–93) a fresh war having broken out with Tipu Sultan, the latter was defeated, and a considerable portion of his territory was ceded to the English. Tipu afterwards associated himself with the French, who continued to intrigue against us for a considerable time after the fall of their leaders Dupleix and Lally, and having refused to relinquish his alliance with them, Tipu was attacked by Lord Wellesley (1798–1805), older brother of the great Duke, who served under him in India. His capital, Seringapatam, was stormed, and Tipu was killed, fighting bravely in its defence. This led to the partition of Maisur, a portion of which was retained by the English, other parts conferred upon the Nizam of Haiderabad and on the Marathas (at that time friendly in their relations with us), whilst the crown of what remained was conferred upon an infant descendant of the old Hindoo family which had been displaced by Haidar Ali. The sons of Tipu were pensioned and kindly treated by Lord Wellesley, and the last of them died at Calcutta about the year 1877.[1] Some of their descendants are still alive, and I had the pleasure of meeting a grandson of Tipu this year at the reception of a wealthy native gentleman in Calcutta. In every respect but in colour I found him to be a kindly, well-intentioned English gentleman.

In 1801 Lord Wellesley secured for the British the territory known as the Doab (the land of two rivers), lying between the Ganges and the Jumna, as well as the district of Rohilkand, where scenes so discreditable to England were enacted under Warren Hastings. The Marathas had long been doubtful allies, and in 1800 a war again broke out between them

[1] For a complete history of Maisur and its condition to-day, see Malleson's "Native States of India," p. 207 *et seq.*

and ourselves, the French as usual aiding our enemies. The Maratha powers at that time were the Peishwá, at Poona, the Gaekwar of Baroda, Sindia of Gwalior, Holkar of Indur (Indore), and the Raja of Nagpur.[1] By his own diplomacy, and the military successes of his illustrious relative Sir Arthur Wellington, and of Lord Lake, in three distinct campaigns the Governor-General succeeded in breaking up the Maratha alliance, and in securing for the British the additional territory of Orissa and what are known as the North-West Provinces.[2] The wars with the Marathas, however, lasted for some time longer, chiefly with Sindia and the Peishwa of Poona, and the English suffered some humiliating reverses, but eventually, in the year 1817, the Marathas were crushed (Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General), a portion of what are now the Central Provinces was attached to the British Empire, the Peishwa was driven from Poona, and his territory was annexed to the Bombay Presidency. In 1824 (Lord Amherst, Governor-General), the Burmese invaded India, but after a war of two years' duration, they were compelled to sign a treaty by which Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim were finally ceded to the British.[3] In 1852 we secured additional territory in Burma, and finally, in 1886, the king, Theebau, was deposed and the whole country brought under our rule.

Under Lord Ellenborough (1842–44) the annexation of Sind took place, the Ameers having refused to ratify certain treaties made with the Indian Government. Sir Charles Napier led an army into the country, gained several brilliant victories, subdued the province, and was appointed Governor.

In the meantime, the British had temporarily occupied Cabul, after the murder of Burnes and Macnaghten and the imprisonment of Lady Sale and her companions, but they afterwards withdrew from that country. Whether or not political considerations, so called, will induce the Government to occupy and annex the country remains an open question.

During the governorships of Lord Hardinge (1844–48) and

[1] For the history of these states see Malleson.

[2] From that time forward the Emperors of Delhi, from having been the suzerains, became the protégés of the British, until the last sepoy mutiny.

[3] For the history of Burma see Hunter's "Gazetteer of India," articles "Burma, British," and "Burma, Independent."

Lord Dalhousie (1848–49) occurred the Sikh wars and the annexation of the Punjab. The first war was provoked by the inroads of the Sikhs into British territory in 1845, when they were several times defeated by Gough and Hardinge, finally at Sobraon; after which the British advanced and occupied the capital, Lahore, and dictated terms of peace. In 1848, two British officers, Agnew and Anderson, were murdered at Multan, and war broke out afresh. The Sikhs, who are recognised as a courageous race of belligerents, inflicted a defeat upon the English under Lord Gough at Chilianwalla, but he subsequently retrieved his reputation at Guzerat, where he defeated the Sikhs and took two of their leaders, Shere Singh and Chutter Singh, prisoners. Shortly after this, Dhuleep Singh, the reigning prince, was deposed, and Lord Dalhousie annexed the Punjab by proclamation.

Lord Dalhousie's regime was one of annexation, though not of annexation only, and his last achievement in that direction materially hastened, if it did not cause, the most terrible catastrophe that ever befell the British during our connection with India. Those events, it need hardly be added, were the annexation of Oudh and the great mutiny of 1857–58. Nagpur and other small states had been annexed to form part of the "Central Provinces," and the only other native kingdom that was causing the Indian Government uneasiness was Oudh, the rulers of which had been maintained on their throne for many generations by the power and protection of the British. Their government was, however, so vile, and they oppressed their subjects to such a degree, that after repeated warnings had been given to them, the directors of the East India Company, on the recommendation of Lord Dalhousie, decided to annex their territory. The execution of this duty devolved upon General Outram, the British Resident at Lucknow, who was subsequently appointed administrator, whilst the king, Wajid Ali, was removed to Calcutta, where he lived in great state, with an allowance from the British of £120,000 a year until his death, which occurred in 1887. The whole of one of the suburbs of Calcutta bordering on the Hughli, called Garden Reach, is covered with his palatial residences.

With the annexation of Oudh we must terminate this brief,

imperfect, and, so far as the reader is concerned, I fear, tedious notice of the recent growth of our Indian Empire, and we must now, with even greater brevity, pass in review the internal changes of importance that have taken place in the government of the country during the same period. Of the mutiny more will be said presently. After the Regulating Act of Lord North, which provided that Indian affairs should be managed by a Governor-General assisted by four councillors, the next change of importance in the government of the country was the passing of Pitt's India Bill in 1784, whereby a body of commissioners, known as the Board of Control, was appointed to sit in London and co-operate with the Company and the Government of India. This Board consisted of six privy councillors, to be nominated by the Crown, along with the Chief Secretaries of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Board did not interfere with the commercial affairs of the Company, whose charter was renewed from time to time, but it had the control of the civil and military government. In India itself the government was conducted by the Governor-General, whom the Crown had the power to recall, with a small council of three, of whom one was the commander-in-chief for the time being. This form of governing India was continued until after the suppression of the last sepoy mutiny in 1858, upon which it will now be necessary to bestow some attention, not only because it heralded an important change in the transfer of the government from the East India Company to the Crown, but because even at the present day there are to be met with in India many surviving traces of its influence.

## THE SEPOY MUTINY OF 1857.

Various have been the causes assigned for the military revolt which nearly lost Great Britain her Indian Empire, but no complete explanation has yet been given, nor is it probable that all the incidents which preceded the mutiny will ever be disclosed. My readers are doubtless aware that it was not the first revolt of the native troops. As far back as 1764, during Clive's absence in England, a mutiny broke out, and was

suppressed by Major Munro. Nor was it the first occasion on which the mutineers were blown from the guns. This was an old barbarous Mughal punishment which was adopted by our people, for after the revolt just mentioned many of the ring-leaders were executed in that fashion. In 1782 three native corps mutinied because an attempt was made to employ them on service involving a sea-voyage, which is forbidden to the Hindoos. In 1806 the sepoys revolted at Madras, several English families were massacred, and the remainder, along with the few British soldiers in the garrison, escaped only through the timely arrival of a body of cavalry from Arcot. Many of the mutineers were captured, but as it was very difficult to decide whom to select for punishment, as several had acted under compulsion, the regiments to which they belonged were disbanded and struck off the army list. In nearly all these cases the exciting cause of the mutiny was the attempt to enforce acts of discipline which were obnoxious to the natives on religious, or what is almost identical, on social grounds. Even to this day if the shadow of a Christian falls upon the food of a Hindoo whilst he is cooking it, he at once throws it away. This is well known to our officers, who are very considerate in such matters. I was walking through the camp at Delhi in company with the amiable colonel in command of the native regiment there during one of my visits, when I was suddenly drawn aside by him, else my shadow would have fallen upon the food that a soldier was cooking, and he would have lost his meal.

It is well known that at the time of the last mutiny the same predisposing cause, with others superadded, was in operation, but the attempt to enforce the use of cartridges upon the native soldiers, which were believed to be, and in some cases were greased with the fat of the cow, an animal held sacred by the Hindoos, was only the spark that caused the explosion which would doubtless have occurred at a later period. That the policy of annexation had much to do with the mutiny there can be no doubt whatever. The monster Nana Sahib, who was one of its most active leaders, was the adopted son of the last Peishwa of the Marathas, and from expressions he is reported to have used during the mutiny, it is certain that

he and others had been intriguing to that end for a considerable time previous to the outbreak. He himself resided at Bithur, near Cawnpore, the subsequent scene of his infamous cruelties. Another of the causes that made for revolt was the belief, almost wholly unfounded, that the English Government intended to force Christianity upon the whole nation. The missionaries were certainly not of that opinion, for, with delightful inconsistency, they declared, after the mutiny was suppressed—and there are some who continue preaching to this day—that the outbreak was the retributive judgment of Providence to punish the English for countenancing idolatry instead of backing up the missionaries with the whole civil power of the state. I have called the time of Clive and Hastings the heroic period of the British rule in India, but there are some who would reserve that designation for the days of the mutiny. Perhaps their judgment is the correct one, for certainly in no national crisis were there ever so many acts of bravery performed as during that terrible insurrection. It broke out at Meerut, then as now a strong military station, about twenty miles from Delhi, where the sepoys rose up in arms on the 10th May 1857, broke open the gaols, killed such Europeans as they encountered, and marched off in a body to the old capital of the Mughals, where Bahadur Shah still maintained the semblance of imperial state.

There they were joined by the Mohammedan troops, and seizing the city, they retained possession of it, massacring such of the Europeans as fell in their way. At Meerut, the officers in command had been completely paralysed by the unexpected outbreak, and in Delhi all that the British were able to effect was the destruction of their own magazine. The mutineers, variously estimated at from 30,000 to 60,000, held possession of Delhi until the following September, when the place was besieged by a comparatively insignificant force of about 7000 British and loyal Sikhs, and was captured by assault.[1] The operations of the siege would not be understood without aids and details which

[1] The native princes who stood by the English during the mutiny were the Maharajah of Patiala (who assisted at the siege of Delhi), Sindia of Gwalior, the Maharajahs of Jaipur, Kapurthala, and several others.

cannot be furnished in these pages, but it may be mentioned that after a cannonade which battered the walls and frequently cleared them of the defenders, the assault was directed mainly against the Kashmir Gate. This was burst open by powder-bags successfully placed there by a small exploding party, consisting of Lieutenants Salkeld and Home of the Engineers, Sergeants Carmichael, Burgess, and Smith, Bengal Sappers, Bugler Hawthorne (to sound the advance when the gate was blown in), and eight native sappers under Havildar Mahdu, who carried the bags of powder. The approach to the gate was over a bridge that had been nearly destroyed, but Home with four soldiers, each carrying a bag of powder on his head, crossed it without flinching, although the fire of the enemy was directed against the little party from the walls and gateway, and they deposited their burdens against the gate. Home sprang into the ditch, whilst following him came Salkeld with four more bags of powder, and carrying the port-fire to light the fusee. Salkeld was wounded before he could completely effect his object, but was carried off by the bugler after he had handed the port-fire to Burgess. He, too, was shot dead on the spot, and Sergeant Carmichael, who succeeded in igniting the fuse, fell mortally wounded. "In another moment," says the narrator whose account I am giving, "a terrific explosion shattered the massive gate, the bugle sounded the advance, and then with a loud cheer the storming party was in the gateway, and in a few minutes more the column and the Kashmir Gate and main-guard were once more in our hands."[1]

After the capture of the city, the Emperor Bahadur Shah and his two sons were taken prisoners, the latter by Hodson, the leader of a body of irregulars known as the "Guides," who captured them in Humayun's tomb, a large mausoleum about three and a half miles from Delhi. When Hodson returned to the city, he said that a mob had surrounded the guard of the princes, and that fearing a rescue, he had seized the carbine of one of his men and had deliberately

[1] Narrative by Lieutenant Medley, serving under General Nicholson, who was mortally wounded during the siege.

shot his prisoners one after the other. The Emperor was sent captive to Rangoon, where the last of the Mughals died in 1862.

The Kashmir Gate remains almost in the same condition as it stood after the assault (Plate XVII.), and is guarded by a solitary sentinel in the shape of a native policeman, bearing witness to the peace that reigns under British rule in the capital of the warlike Mughals, and who deferentially salutes every Englishman as he passes from the city into the lovely park-like suburbs. The portal and battlements, and for that matter the walls, for a considerable distance from the gate, are in a battered condition from the shots that were fired at them before the assault, and the only addition to the gateway itself seems to be the memorial tablet between the two arches, which bears the following inscription:—

"On the 14th September 1857 the British force stormed Delhi; it was after sunrise on that day that the under-mentioned party, advancing from Ludlow Castle, in the face of a heavy fire, and crossing this bridge, which had been almost totally destroyed, lodged powder-bags, and blew in the right leaf of this gate, thus opening the way for the assaulting column.

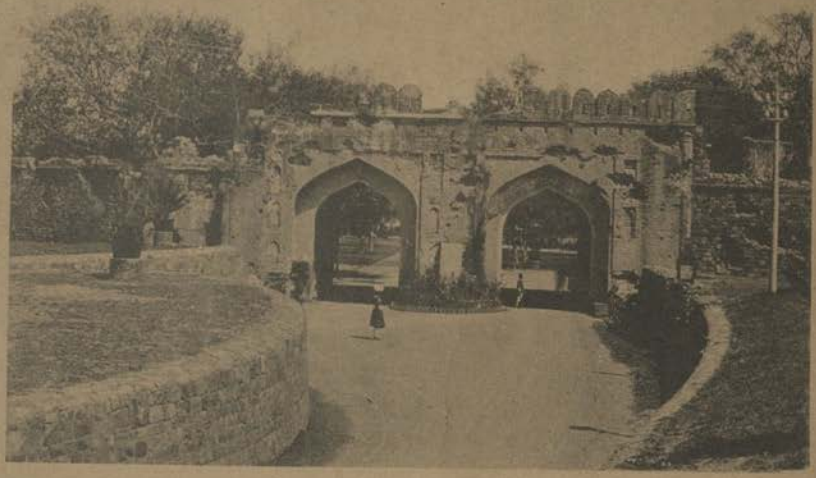
Lieutenant DUNCAN HOME }
Lieutenant PETER SALKELD } Bengal Engineers,
Mortally wounded."

(Here follow the names of nine others, British and native, of inferior rank.)

"This memorial is placed here
as a tribute of respect to these gallant soldiers
by General LORD NAPIER of Magdala,
Colonel, Royal Engineers, and Commander-in-Chief of India."[1]

The story of the relief of Lucknow is better known even than that of the siege of Delhi. That city was held at the outbreak of the mutiny by Sir Henry Lawrence, who, hearing of the approach of the mutineers on the 29th June,

[1] The Ludlow Castle referred to in the inscription (which I copied during one of many delightful morning walks at Delhi) was the Commissioner's residence, whence the cannonade was directed against the Kashmir Gate.



THE KASHMIR GATE, DELHI.

Maclure, Macdonald & Co., Glasgow

RUINS OF THE RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW.

sent out a small force of 650 men with one 8-inch howitzer to attack them. Instead of a small body of rebels, this force found itself face to face with a large army of mutineers. The colonel commanding the British and about 170 men were killed, the gun was relinquished, and the mutineers continued their advance upon the city. Sir Henry Lawrence, who had been collecting stores, ammunition, and provisions, then retired with the Europeans, including many women and children, into the Residency, where they were closely besieged until Havelock and Outram forced their way through the enemy on the 25th September. Lawrence was killed by a fragment of a shell from his own deserted howitzer a few days after the siege commenced.

In their turn Havelock and Outram were imprisoned in the besieged city until they were finally rescued by Sir Colin Campbell, afterwards Lord Clyde, and what remained of the garrison and the women and children were safely removed to Allahabad.

The Residency so called is not, as many persons suppose, a single building, but it occupies a large space, part of which, at the time of the siege, contained the house of Mr. Gubbins, the financial commissioner; another residence was occupied by Mr. Ommaney, who was killed in it; and in addition there were several buildings and sites in which batteries were mounted.[1] The Residency proper (Plate XVII.), which, like the walls of Delhi, has been preserved in its ruined state, was the centre of operations. The cellars below were occupied by the women and children, and the visitor is shown an opening where one shell entered and killed or injured a lady. The tower with the flagstaff was used as a watch-tower or look-out during the siege, and it was there that Sir James Outram erected a semaphore to communicate with Sir Colin Campbell at the Alum Bagh, a pavilion belonging to the royal family of Oudh, which was originally held by the mutineers, but was captured and occupied by Havelock in September 1857. The whole of the ruins now stand in a garden, which is beautifully kept, and to which they present a sad contrast as reminiscences of a gloomy episode in the history of the British in India.

[1] An excellent model of the grounds and its various buildings is exhibited at the Lucknow Museum.

For, as a writer on Lucknow has said,[1] it is impossible, as one wanders through the garden and inspects the ruins, to realise the terror and tumult of the protracted siege. The roar of artillery, the rattle of small arms, was kept up incessantly from before sunrise for more than three hours daily by an investing swarm of a hundred thousand relentless savages; there were sallies and rallies, and mines and countermines; roofs exploded, masonry crumbled; and as for the besieged, their condition was horrible. Shut up in crowded rooms during the heat of an Indian summer, with insufficient food, they suffered from small-pox and from epidemics, their wounds festered, and they were tormented with insects. "Officers," he says, "were on several occasions shot by the sentries inadvertently, and some few even committed suicide." No wonder that the arrival at length of Sir Colin Campbell was looked upon by the wretched sufferers as a providential delivery from death, or from worse than death itself. Havelock, as the reader knows, died of dysentery on the 24th November, and amongst so many grand monuments to the great in India, one, entirely unworthy of the nation he served so nobly, has been erected to his memory in the Alum Bagh.

The same cannot, however, be said of the beautiful structure that has been raised in remembrance of the sufferers in the fearful catastrophe at Cawnpur, of which the tale, almost too horrible for pen to record, has often been repeated. The force there was under the command of General Wheeler, the mutineers under Nana Sahib,[2] and the former, along with the women and children, numbering 125, entrenched themselves after the outbreak of the mutiny, and held their ground from the 8th to the 26th June. They were reduced to great straits, being almost without provisions or ammunition, and when Nana Sahib offered to send them in boats to Allahabad provided they would give up their arms, General Wheeler accepted his terms in good faith. He along with a considerable portion of the garrison and some women, 450 in all, embarked on the 27th, but no sooner had the boats put off than the rowers jumped overboard and

[1] H. C. Keene: Lucknow, Allahabad, and Cawnpore. Thacker: Calcutta and Bombay.

[2] His correct name was Dundhu Panth.

swam ashore, whilst the mutineers opened fire on the boats, and the whole party, excepting four who escaped to tell the tale, were shot or drowned. Those who were still on shore, of whom about 125 were women and children, sought to escape, but the men were killed, and the women were kept for some time, and subjected to great privations, if not to worse treatment. On the 15th July, when it was known that Havelock was approaching, Nana Sahib gave orders for all the survivors to be killed, but from the accounts of the massacre, it appears that the soldiers, less cruel than their leader, hesitated to obey his commands, and when they were ordered to fire into the building in which the women were confined, they fired at the ceiling without killing any of the inmates. Finding that his executioners were not doing their duty, the infamous Nana is said to have sent for some butchers from the bazaars, who, under a threat of being killed themselves if they refused to comply with his orders, entered the house and dispatched their victims with knives and hatchets. The bodies were cast into a well, in some cases before life was extinct, and some poor children who survived were thrown in after them. It is a poor satisfaction to know that one of the butchers was caught and blown from a gun, whilst the arch-butcher escaped, and probably died a natural death somewhere in the Himalayas.[1]

The scene of the massacre has been converted into one of the loveliest spots in India. It is a beautiful garden of fourteen acres, known as the "Memorial Gardens," and is situated close to the native city, from which it is approached by a broad road or street. The grounds contain some beautiful cypress trees, and a central drive leads up to the monument that has been erected over the well. This stands upon a mound, and consists of an octagonal structure, composed of open Gothic arches, with a handsome gateway in the same

[1] There have been various accounts of the massacre, differing in detail, but the most trustworthy is probably that contained in "A History of the Sepoy War in India," by J. W. Kaye, F.R.S., vol. ii. pp. 332–343. W. H. Allen & Co. The landlord of the chief hotel at Cawnpur, who calls himself "a soldier of Lord Gough's days," presents visitors with a pamphlet, for which he charges in the bill. It contains a rambling account of the mutiny, but is one of the most wretched literary productions that ever issued from any press.

style of architecture on the side facing the approach. Over this gateway are the pathetic words: "These are they which came out of great tribulation." Within the Gothic enclosure is the well itself, over which stands, with a downward look of sadness, an angel of pure white marble, with arms folded across the breast and holding a palm branch in either hand (Plate XVIII.). Beneath is an inscription: "Sacred to the perpetual memory of the great company of Christian people chiefly women and children, who near this spot were cruelly massacred by the followers of the rebel Nana Dhoondu Punth of Bithoor, and cast, the dying with the dead, into the well below, 15th day of July 1857." Not far away stood the bungalow in which the massacre was perpetrated, but no traces of it remain, and several monuments to those who fell in the vicinity are situated in the grounds, which are adorned with flower-beds and many handsome trees, and they now serve as a promenade both for Europeans and natives.

It is more than thirty years since this disaster occurred, but many a British visitor still leaves the grounds with hatred of the natives rankling in his breast, forgetting that it was chiefly the soldiers who mutinied and committed these atrocities, whilst the civil population took but little part in the revolt, and often sheltered the European fugitives. God forbid that I should say a word that might appear to palliate the horrors of those barbarous acts, but let it not be forgotten that the present generation of Hindoos are as little responsible for them as the present generation of Anglo-Indians for the Rohilla massacres by the troops of Warren Hastings, and those were not even fighting in defence of their native soil. And yet the conduct of our people in India seems strangely inconsistent in this respect. I have been told over and over again that even now the native troops are not to be trusted; that some of the men who appeared so devoted to their officers before the mutiny, murdered them and ill-treated their wives; and yet I have seen the children of officers nursed and carried about by favoured native soldiers; and, as has already been noticed, the authorities, both civil and military, are in favour of drilling and placing arms of precision in the hands of the troops of native

Maclure, Macdonald & Co., Glasgow.

THE MEMORIAL WELL, CAWNPORE.

princes, who at present strut about harmlessly with old flint-locks over their shoulders, looking for all the world like stage supers.

Two great results followed the mutiny: one was the abolition of the East India Company, and the complete transference of the government to the Crown; the other, the confiscation of the estates of many idle, worthless rebels, and their bestowal upon active and industrious zemindars and cultivators. The reader will have an opportunity of judging how far the latter has operated for the welfare of the people; and as to the transfer of the government, it initiated a period of peace and progress in India proper, which has seldom been equalled in the world's history. The government, as it was constituted after the mutiny, has undergone but little change, the chief being the addition to the Indian Council in 1861 of non-official members, Englishmen and natives, and, briefly stated, it now consists of Her Majesty (Queen first, and in 1877 Empress), acting through the Secretary of State for India, who is responsible to Parliament; of her Viceroy, with an executive council of six ordinary members, including the commander-in-chief and the governors of Presidencies as extraordinary members when the council assembles within their territories. These are all Britons, but, in addition, there are members, both British and natives, for making laws and regulations. The governors of Presidencies and of the North-West Provinces are assisted by councils, and the tendency of this system has been great decentralisation and the devolution of local duties and responsibilities upon the district authorities. At home there is a Council of State, consisting of, besides the Secretary of State, fifteen members, chiefly retired military and civil officers.

Practically the government of India is a benevolent despotism, somewhat controlled by Parliament, but, as will be seen farther on, changes are in progress which will in all probability gradually convert it into a constitutional monarchy. One such change was established (for it had already been initiated some time previously) immediately after the suppression of the mutiny; it arose from the determination of the British people at home to permit the natives to enjoy

increased liberty and to participate in the management of their own affairs.

The first intimation of this change from the absolute rule of the conquerors was announced by an Act of Parliament of William IV.,[1] which declared that "No native of the said territories (India), nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Government;" and after the mutiny this principle was re-affirmed by a royal proclamation, which contained this paragraph: "And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge."[2]

There are some persons in India who, from selfish motives, are disposed to lay too much stress upon the qualifying clause in this declaration, but I venture to say that every one who takes a statesman-like view of the matter will admit that the people of India have done nothing to forfeit the confidence of their British rulers, nor anything to justify on the part of the latter the slightest infraction of their voluntary promises and assurances; for succeeding Viceroys have declared that these promises were not merely formal, but were intended to indicate the deliberate policy of the mother country towards her great dependency. The progress that has been made and the changes which have taken place under the direct government of the Crown may be gathered from the second part of this work, in one chapter of which the authorities will be allowed to tell their own story. The most important have relation to taxation and revenue, to education, to the administration of justice, the extension of municipal government, and to the promotion in various ways of commerce and agriculture; and although mistakes may have been made from time to time, and have led,

[1] Act 3 and 4 Will. IV., cap. 85, sec. 87, 1833.

[2] Proclamation by the Queen in Council to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India (published by the Governor-General at Allahabad, November 1, 1858). London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. The reader should peruse this interesting historical document.

with other causes, to the establishment of a national party, the steady aim of the governing power since the mutiny has been directed, sometimes under trying difficulties, to the extension of employment for the natives, and to the furtherance of the happiness and prosperity of the Indian people.

# Part II.

## *INDIA TO-DAY.*

## British Rule in India before the Great Mutiny.

"Calmly considered by the moralist, the acquisition of this immense territory has been an act of injustice. The British nation has taken by force, or on the plea of an assumed necessity, a large section of Asia, and this they only keep on one decent excuse, which is, that if they abandoned it, the whole Indian Peninsula would fall under the dominion, not of its native Hindoo races, but its former Mohammedan masters, who are a set of rapacious adventurers, and that therefore it is a deed of humanity to continue the British sovereignty over the country. Assuming that this apology is well founded, how much are we called on to adopt all proper measures for the civilisation of India—for the introduction and maintenance of just laws, education on the most extensive scale, Christianity, with all its ameliorating influences. Let us not also forget to insist on the substitution of a considerate system of taxation for the oppressive arrangements now in force, and for which the East India Company justly exposes itself to the execration of every humane mind. When all this and something more is done, it will be time enough to speak of the benefits which the conquest has conferred on India."—"*The British Conquest of India*," *from Chambers's Miscellany*, 1848.

# RAILWAY MAP OF INDIA

# CHAPTER XII.

## AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL.

England to Bombay in sixteen days—A model Indian estate—The rebel Koer Singh and Jugdispore—Mr. Burrows—His services during the mutiny—Beheea—Wonderful development of the estate—A desert transformed into a garden—Note: Official report on Beheea—The mansion and its surroundings—Beautiful park and its denizens—A monkey problem—The native village—Messrs. Thomson & Mylne—Their various industries—Description of improved sugar-mill—Native agricultural implements—Primitive combined plough and drill—Methods of irrigation—Agricultural capacities of natives—Wonderful variety of products—Mode of sowing and planting crops—Land tenures—The Zamindars of Beheea and their relations with the State and their peasantry—Three centres of operations—Jugdispore—Mr. Mylne and his Zamindars' court—Native litigation—A curious suit—The peasantry—Their daily life—Food and clothing—Servility—Its dangers—Zamindars generally—Extension of agriculture in India—The tea industry—Its growth and present position—The wheat industry—Railways and agriculture—Fallacious native arguments against railways—Storing and famine—Interest on railway capital—Hoarding of precious metals—Railways and civilisation—The cotton industry before, during, and after the mutiny—The first steam spinning-mill (1854)—Growth, present position, and prospects of spinning industry—Machine and hand-made manufactures—Native complaints regarding the former—The question discussed—Other agricultural products—The Indian land-tax—The revenue from land in India as compared with England—The State as a landlord—The licensing system—The rural police—A blot on the administration—English and native opinions concerning them—Their danger to British rule—State improvements in agriculture—Irrigation, &c.—Benevolent relations between the State and the peasantry.

MANY, many years since, long before I dreamt of visiting India, I remember crossing from Calais to Dover with two English gentlemen who were returning to England after a long residence in that dependency. They said they were indigo planters, and had been two months on the way, and I looked upon them as denizens of another sphere. Now, you may leave London on any Friday evening, travel across the Continent in a commodious saloon-carriage, with all the comforts of a hotel;

on the following Sunday night you may step on board one of the beautiful steamers of the Peninsular and Oriental Company at Brindisi, making a delightful voyage to Bombay in a fortnight; and, if you should be favoured with the companionship of intelligent Anglo-Indians returning from their leave of absence, and be of an inquiring turn, you may learn enough about India—from the official point of view—to fill a volume. By taking the rail on your arrival, you may, two or three days afterwards, find yourself rambling through one of the plantations such as were owned by the two travellers just referred to, and may see the cakes of indigo prepared and packed for the English market. To trace the history of such a plantation and to witness its operations is one of the most interesting experiences of a visit to our Eastern dependency.

In the year of the great mutiny there was, in the district of Shahabad, Bihar, Bengal, not far from Patna, a considerable tract of land called the Jugdispore Estate, which was owned by one Koer Singh. The greater portion of this property was jungle, preserved as a hunting-ground by the proprietor, who lived at a house upon the estate, still called Jugdispore. When the sepoy mutiny broke out, this Koer Singh and his followers joined the rebels, who had occupied the jungle, and great difficulty was found in dislodging them. The railway between Arrah and Buxar, which passed through this jungle, was then in course of construction, and Mr. H. Burrows, managing partner in the firm of Burn & Co., contractors for the line, rendered prompt and efficient assistance to the force under Sir Edward Lugard by cutting passages through the jungle and enabling the troops to penetrate it and drive out the insurgents.[1] Koer Singh was at length reached and besieged in his palace at Jugdispore, where he was wounded by a ball, and died shortly afterwards. His estates were confiscated, and a lease of them was granted to Mr. Burrows, who is still the senior partner of the present firm of Zamindars, Messrs Burrows, Thompson, & Mylne, and the Jugdispore Estate is now called Beheea, and lies in close contiguity to a station of that name on the line of railway.

[1] Official papers published by the Land Revenue Department, Calcutta, 7th January 1882.

But what a transformation has taken place since the days of the mutiny! Where the present firm of Zamindars found a dense jungle with hardly an inhabitant, they have created a magnificent estate of 50,000 acres, occupied by a thriving peasantry numbering at least 8000, and increasing so rapidly that the anxiety of the Zamindars now is to prevent the too great multiplication of holdings, and to relieve congested districts by finding fresh areas for cultivation. Since they brought their skill and energies to bear upon the desert where petty despotism and wild beasts had dominated, they have constructed thirty miles of excellent roads, 600 wells, a hundred miles of irrigation canals, which they have brought into connection with the arterial canals and the River Sone; they have encouraged the cultivation of numerous productions, of which further mention will be made presently, and have supplied the peasantry with implements whereby they have been enabled to economise and secure a better return for their labour.[1]

And (if I may be permitted to digress for a few moments) the Zamindary of Beheea possesses features of considerable interest for others besides social or political economists. About a mile from the railway station, in a magnificent park, called here a compound, of a couple of hundred acres, stands a fine castellated mansion, built by the proprietors, which partakes of the character both of a large Indian bungalow and of the castle of a Highland chieftain; and as the visitor approaches the castle, which is already turning black with age, he almost expects to hear the sound of the pibroch

[1] As the estate of Beheea is situated in a district where the condition of the peasantry is far from satisfactory, I consider it fair to the proprietors to append an extract from the Supplement to the Gazette of India, published October 20, 1888 (p. 1323), being an official report on the estate in connection with the renewal or modification, after twenty years' occupancy, of the lease which was originally granted to Mr. Burrows:—"The Lieutenant-Governor has personally visited the estate, and from what he has himself seen, and from the reports which have from time to time reached him on the subject, he considers Messrs. Burrows, Thomson, & Mylne the best landlords with whom he has yet become acquainted in India. The estate is a model of all that an estate of the kind ought to be." The report then goes on to enumerate the improvements named in the text, the foundation of schools, &c., &c., and concludes: "Personally, Mr. Ashley Eden is convinced that the estate could not be placed in better hands than theirs."

and to see kilted retainers lounging about the entrance. But the warlike resemblance ends with the frowning exterior; within all is matter-of-fact business activity. There are fine reception-halls and dwelling-rooms, in which the families of the Zamindars reside (the word "Zamindars" sounds strange as applied to enterprising Scotch landlords and engineers), and where the few neighbouring Europeans are always sure of a hearty welcome at a hospitable board, half Indian, half English in its character. Various counting-houses, drawing-offices, &c., form part of the building, and the surroundings of the Beheea mansion are interesting in the extreme. If you take a morning walk through the great park after enjoying your little "*hazri*," your cup of tea and toast, with the subsequent bath, before the sun has risen too high in the heavens, you encounter sights and sounds which cause you for the time to forget your native land and all its belongings. First, there is a great bamboo-tope or plantation, with its many stems springing up to a height of at least thirty or forty feet, which supply the estate with almost every kind of agricultural and domestic appliance. Next, crossing the park, you meet with the most magnificent trees. Here is one amongst many others, a banyan tree, of which the branches and foliage cover a rough circle thirty-six paces in diameter; and here you make acquaintance with numerous assemblages of monkeys, who do not even express surprise at your presence, unless you approach them too closely, when they quietly scamper off to some neighbouring tree, and, if necessary, seek shelter in its branches. The whole park is peopled with these creatures, which present at least one curious problem. I could not ascertain what becomes of them when they die; no one has ever seen a dead monkey on the estate. Do their relatives devour, or bury, or cremate them? or do they carry them to the nearest stream sacred to monkey life? or does the monkey-god Hanuman descend from his heavenly throne and convey them bodily to the simian realms of bliss,[1] or, as Mark Twain would say, to "the other place"? Here indeed is a problem worthy

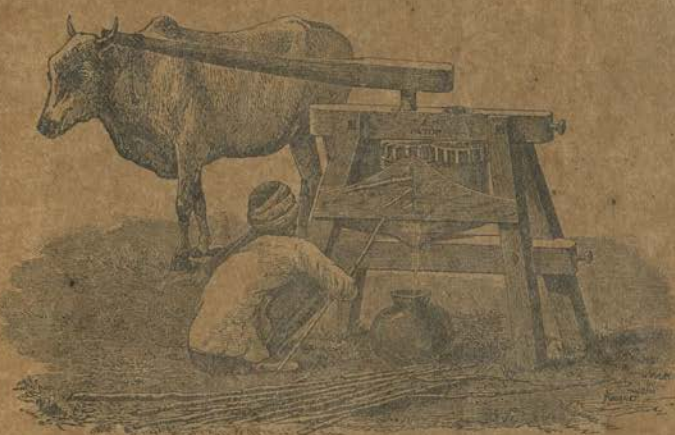
[1] According to Mr. Carl Bock ("Temples and Elephants," p. 27; Sampson Low), the natives of Siam think that the monkey never dies, "but when he gets old he goes up into the air and lives with Hoalaman." Hoalaman and Hanuman are one.

of investigation by anthropologists and students of Hindoo theology.

In the park, too, besides all the common birds of India, the minah, the hoopoo, the kite, &c., there are flights of beautiful guinea-fowls. It is a most fascinating spot for the lover of Nature and the admirer of her rarer beauties; but if you leave the park and ramble about half a mile along the highroad towards the station, you find yourself in a scene of equal interest, but of an entirely different description. This is a native village, with its mud huts thatched with grass or roofed with red tiles, where you see dark-skinned men and women squatting about, wondering who the strange "Sahib" can be, and rising to "salām" as he passes; little brown children as naked as when they were born, running about without let or hindrance; people selling vegetables, fruits, and all kinds of sweets, chiefly balls of sugar mixed with grains. They are great people for sweets all over India, a substitute for alcohol, I suppose, and it is to be hoped they may long eschew that latest boon of Western civilisation in the shape of ardent spirits. Here, too, you may see the carts, already described, which so strikingly resemble those on the Danubian plains, besides tethered bullocks, and buffaloes with their long recumbent horns; and if you look up into the bright, clear, blue Indian sky, you notice a flag flying over an apology for a temple, in which the dark-skinned, and, I fear it must be added, dark-souled natives offer up their prayers to their tutelary god or goddess. I do not know what effect such a scene would have upon the majority of Englishmen, but I felt a greater sense of loneliness in this other, older world than if I had been rambling alone over some Welsh or Highland moor, with the heather for a carpet and only the astonished bleating sheep for companionship.

But little time is left for such reflections at Beheea. If the shrill whistle of the locomotive has not effectually dispelled your reverie, you have only to retrace your steps to the mansion, where you will see enough to remind you vividly of modern progress and activity. Messrs. Thomson & Mylne are engineers, ironfounders, mill-wrights, sugar producers, seed crushers, indigo planters, and manufacturers, and I know not

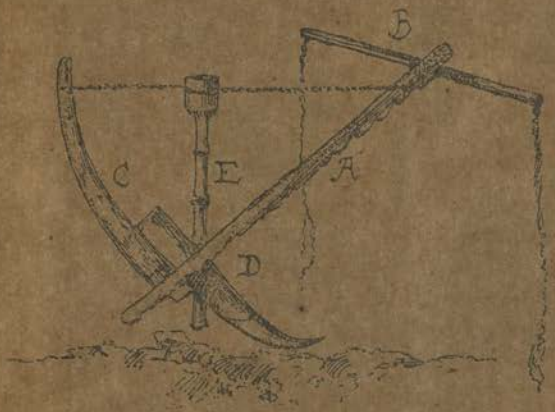
what besides. They invented and make, in close proximity to the house, a small but very efficient rolling-mill for extracting the juice from sugar-cane. Before this was introduced, a kind of pestle and mortar arrangement was in use at Shahabad, the mortar being made by hollowing out the trunk of a good-sized tree, which was fixed in the ground; the pestle was a pole or spar of tough hard wood, nine to ten feet long, from which was suspended a frame whereon the driver of the bullocks sat which worked the mill. Other clumsy contrivances, such as large wooden rollers, may still be seen at work in various parts of India. Messrs. Thomson & Mylne's little mill will be best understood by a reference to the accompanying wood-



cut. It is worked by one or two bullocks, and consists of a pair, or in some kinds, three vertical iron rollers from eight to twelve inches long, set in a frame to which is attached a perforated feed-plate, and a sloping plate to carry off the cane juice. The cane is passed, in the state in which it is cut, through the rollers as shown in the illustration; the juice is caught in a brass vessel, the moisture evaporated by a simple heating process, and the so-called gûr (goor) or concrete sugar which remains is placed in an efficient little centrifugal drum worked by hand, whereby the pure sugar is separated from the molasses.

My reason for describing this implement in some detail is because it is one of the few that Western agricultural engineers have been able, on account of its simplicity, to induce the natives to employ in place of their own primitive appliances. Every part of the sugar-mill excepting the rollers can be repaired or renewed by the village carpenter or blacksmith; and the rollers are not only made at Beheea by the inventors, but the patent having expired, their manufacture has become quite a national industry; for there are more than 180,000 of the mills at work in different parts of India, where the land under cultivation with sugar-cane exceeds that of the West Indies and Mauritius. Messrs. Thomson & Mylne have also introduced a simple improved appliance which enables cultivators to extract rape-oil from the seed themselves, instead of intrusting it to middlemen, by whom they were unconscionably cheated. Let me just add, in passing, that it will be found better, in seeking to facilitate agricultural operations and the resulting manufactures in India, to recommend to the natives simple and easily portable rather than unwieldy and complicated implements or machinery. It will be long before it is possible to introduce improved ploughs, reapers, or other labour-saving machinery there. The soil is left by their primitive plough in a lumpy condition, which would render the progress of a reaping-machine difficult. The crops are planted in small square patches, bordered by channels for irrigation. The holdings are small, rarely exceeding ten statute acres. Labour is very cheap; a plough with a pair of oxen and a driver can be hired for 6 annas, equal to about 9d. per day; and the weather is fine and constant. Time is, therefore, of no value; the tenants and ryots have little occupation outside of their regular employment, hardly any amusements, and their only excitement is litigation, to which they are passionately addicted. A deep plough might with great advantage be used once in three years to give a complete upturning to the soil, but the peasantry are very conservative, and great tact will be required to induce them to consent to such an innovation. The plough at present employed, of which I would speak with due reverence, for it is greatly admired by some Indian authorities, is probably the

same as was used in Vedic times; indeed, it would seem to have been the production of some clever Aryan inventor, for it is a combination of the very simplest forms of plough and drill in one implement. It consists of two beams, a straight one notched to affix the cross-shaft for the oxen by which it is drawn, and into that a smaller curved beam which carries a primitive wooden share pointed with iron; these two beams are fastened together by a kind of cord or ligament, and that constitutes the plough. To the ligament which binds the two parts of the plough together there is attached a vertical bamboo with a little cylindrical box at the top, in which the




NATIVE INDIAN PLOUGH AND DRILL COMBINED.

A. main-beam; B. cross-beam for oxen; C. beam bearing share; D. E. bamboo drill.

seed is placed, and this trickles through the bamboo into the furrow made by the plough a few inches in depth. I have appended a little sketch showing the way in which the primitive implement performs its work, and which, as I have already said, it will be very difficult to induce the peasantry to discard in favour of any modern contrivance.

The great difficulty with which the peasantry have to contend in their agricultural operations is drought, but the methods of artificial irrigation are very efficient. This is accomplished either by means of numerous wells bored in different parts of the estate, from which the water is drawn by oxen, and then distributed by manual labour through channels

which intersect the surface, or, where it is possible, by gravitation from canals situated on a higher level. The manual distribution is performed by sets of two men, who lift the water in a large open bag made of hide, so suspended from a pair of ropes that it can be tilted with ease, and to facilitate this mode of distribution a great many holes are dug at the corners where the surface channels intersect each other; in these the water accumulates, and can easily be distributed thence over every part of the surface.

It must not be supposed that because their implements are primitive and their labour is of small value, the peasants are bad agriculturists. "We can teach them nothing; they understand their work thoroughly," it was said to me by Mr. Mylne, who has spent the best part of his life in superintending the agricultural operations of the estate. It will be remembered that in describing the condition of this industry in the days of Akbar, and even in still earlier times, it was mentioned that the peasantry secured two or three crops annually; that is so at present, and several different crops are even found growing together in the same patches. I saw in different parts of the estate sugar-cane and castor-seed; castor, cotton, and dholl; and barley, with oilseeds, chiefly linseed, growing round the borders. Rotation of crops is practised, but no rotation for rice. Amongst cereals and grains there are to be found wheat, barley, oats, maize, peas, rice, millet, pulse, and several kinds of grain known only in India; of seeds, linseed, rape, mustard, poppy, castor, radish, cummin, coriander, &c.; of vegetables, potatoes, cauliflowers, carrots, onions, cucumbers, pumpkins, garlic, chillies; of textiles, cotton, jute, flax, hemp, &c.; and in addition, indigo, large quantities of sugar-cane, ginger, turmeric, tobacco, and many other useful products, most of which have their regular seasons for sowing or planting and harvesting. Indeed, as far as I could ascertain, every important agricultural product of India, with the exception of tea and coffee, is successfully cultivated upon the Beheea estate.

Something will be said in another place of the tenures of land in India, as well as of their effect upon the condition of the peasantry, and at the end of this volume will be found an

Appendix bearing upon the subject. At Beheea the tenure is as follows:—The Zamindars, Messrs. Burrows & Co., hold a lease of the entire estate, on which they pay the Government a land-tax of 2 rupees 4 annas, or 4s. 6d. per acre. In 1908 the Government will be entitled to terminate the lease or to enhance the assessment. The tenants pay the Zamindars (who are alone responsible to the State) a little over 10s. 4d. per acre rent, leaving 5s. 10d. for risk of collection, often in small instalments, interest on outlay, and improvements and profit, and the proprietors assured me that, all things considered, the return on their outlay is by no means excessive. The peasantry have fixed rents and tenure, and the former can only be raised on application to a court.

But I saw quite enough during my interesting visit and inspection of the estate to satisfy me that the Zamindars are something more and better than landlords. In the first place, as we have seen, they supply on the spot, no doubt at a fair profit to themselves, the implements best suited to the wants of their tenantry, and as manufacturers and traders they offer them a ready market for much of their produce. At Jugdispore, where Koer Singh held his court, and where Mr. Mylne, junior, a married son of the Zamindar, now lives and holds his court, in a very different sense, the proprietors have established a large indigo manufactory, and with it, I believe, a good reputation for its products. Here there is another native village, which serves as a centre of trade for the whole neighbourhood, and hither also the peasantry resort with the statement of their grievances and for the settlement of their differences, the judge in the latter case being young Mr. Mylne.[1] He is, I believe, a magistrate, but in his own court his jurisdiction is purely voluntary, that of an arbitrator; and when I was at Jugdispore there were forty or fifty suitors waiting to have their cases heard. Some of these give one an excellent insight into the character of the peasantry, and one was rather an amusing case, which, under any but paternal rule, could hardly

[1] At Juttowrah, about twelve miles from Beheea, there is a third centre of operations, where another of Mr. Mylne's sons resides, and manages part of the estate. In all three centres there are regular offices, where accounts are kept, and the whole estate is managed with a precision that can be best understood by a person accustomed to the supervision of any extensive industrial establishment.

have been tried there. A boy, who, I suppose, must be called the plaintiff, had come to the bazaar during a fair, bringing with him a bag of rice, which he had intrusted to the care of an acquaintance, placing it in his shop whilst he attended to some small matter elsewhere. On his return the rice had disappeared, and the defendant, who denied that he had ever seen it, repudiated all responsibility. The boy claimed the value of the rice, but the only evidence he had to tender was that of a man who came forward as a witness, and said that the defendant had admitted to him that he *had* seen the rice, but that probably some one else had stolen it. I was curious to hear the judge's decision, for it was clear that such evidence would be quite insufficient in England to render him either criminally or civilly liable. Mr. Mylne, however, had his own view of the matter. He decided, as in similar doubtful cases, that each party must choose an arbitrator (a Hindoo), and in case they should disagree, the "court" would nominate an umpire. "They get to the bottom of it better than I can," said he; "they can get facts and information in addition to what you heard stated to me. I have very little doubt that he sold the rice along with his own, and if so, they are sure to ferret it out." The peasants, as I have said, have few amusements and little occupation outside of their daily work; so the court is always crowded with men whose chief excitement is litigation, and one of the principal duties of the Zamindars is to prevent them from squandering their savings in petty squabbles and lawsuits, and from falling into the hands of usurers.

The well-to-do peasantry eat three meals a day. *Chota* (or *kota*) *hazri* or early breakfast at 7 A.M., breakfast at noon, and dinner at 8 P.M. in winter, but in summer and during the rainy season the first meal is taken an hour earlier, and the last two an hour later, to leave more time for field-work. Their food consists chiefly of rice, pulse, and cereals, such as roasted gram and peas, rice and dal or dholl, rice and barley, bread made from barley and wheat, and sundry dishes with native appellations, but the constituents of which are generally those already named, often sweetened with "goor." The women and children live mostly on cold rice, and both sexes are very fond of sweets, great quantities of sugar-cane

cut into short lengths being for sale in every village or bazaar. Their clothing in summer is of the scantiest, and is made of what is called "*markin*," a kind of long cloth, to which in winter another kind called "*mota*" or thick cloth is added. It must not, however, for a moment be thought that these statements apply universally to the condition of the peasantry, who, even in the province of Bihar, are in many cases impoverished and degraded. Of the general state of the agricultural classes mention will be made hereafter. The worst feature in their character, for which they can hardly be considered responsible, is their apparent servility, especially when they are seeking a favour of some kind. Whilst I was driving over the plantation with Mr. Mylne, or walking about with a younger member of his family, we were constantly approached by natives bowing deeply, with their hands folded in an attitude of prayer, and their cringing manner was to me most repulsive and humiliating. Mr. Mylne told me that even he, accustomed as he is to the native habits, detests this attitude. "When they come to ask a favour," he said, "or to speak to me about some grievance, I often tell them to go away, and come back and address me as human beings." This attitude and demeanour are the results of long ages of oppression, but there are many foolish Englishmen all over India who approve of, and even demand such adulation and subservieney, which seems to add to their own importance. They are, however, not looking far beyond the end of their noses, or they would firmly discountenance such a slavish, cringing demeanour, for its concomitants are idolatry, deceit, and falsehood, born of fear; and in case the national passions should at any time be aroused, it will give place to vindictive resentment and cruelty.[1]

As to the Zamindars or landlords, by whatever name they may be known in different parts of India, who are mostly natives, they do not all resemble Messrs. Thomson & Mylne. Many of them are conscientious, painstaking, and well-inten-

[1] This description of the servility of the peasantry in Bihar does not apply to all parts of India—to the Punjab, for example, where the peasantry are much more independent. I had not the same opportunities to study their character there, but from an excellent account which appeared in the *Pioneer* of July 13 ("The Punjab Peasant Farmer"), my opinion concerning the resentment and cruelty which would take the place of servility in case of a revolt is much strengthened.

tioned towards their tenantry, but others are themselves ignorant and unable to advise or control the peasantry; others, again, are sensuous, and hold themselves aloof from the cultivators; some are deeply in debt, and cannot afford to make improvements, whilst a considerable number are absentees, who leave the management of their estates to middlemen, they themselves spending most of their time in the cities, seeking empty honours or paid appointments in the British service. As for their peasantry or their "subjects," as they sometimes call them, these are paying the usurer an exorbitant rate of interest on small sums borrowed to enable them to keep body and soul together, or perishing like flies at the first approach of drought and famine. By far the larger proportion of the cultivators are independent of any landlord other than the State, to which they are directly or through the head-men of their villages responsible for taxation.

On the whole, the expansion of agriculture in India and the consequent growth of prosperity have been very remarkable, and speak volumes for the industry of the cultivators. It is not my intention to afflict the reader with statistics, but a few figures are absolutely necessary to prove the accuracy of this statement. Although tea is said to have been originally an Indian product—with what degree of truth it is not necessary here to inquire—its cultivation was practically introduced about the year 1827 by Bruce, and it was subsequently grown in the Assam valley. I well remember when, in 1856, a year before the mutiny, the first tea-garden was commenced at Darjeeling, and even at that time very few people expected that India would become a tea-growing country. The adaptability of the soil soon, however, became apparent, and in 1865 a writer well acquainted with India wrote: "Englishmen are acquiring land in India for this purpose, and the natives are stirred up into some excitement by the demand for native tea, which is sold at a good profit at 1s. 6d. per pound."[1] Since then, the cultivation of Indian tea, which is distinguished for its purity and is more economical in its use than any other kind, has progressed by leaps and bounds, and according to the last Government

[1] *Quarterly Journal of Science*, vol. ii. p. 288.

Report of 1886–87 there were 296,414 acres under cultivation, employing about 300,000 persons, against 10,500 acres at the period just mentioned (1865).

Of the growth of wheat, the figures are not so available nor trustworthy over a long period, but the acreage under cultivation has increased from about 12 millions in 1877–8 to nearly 19 millions, according to the last return, 1887–8, and during the same period the exports from India have risen from 10,428,927 to 41,558,000 bushels. In speaking of tea, it was mentioned that its reputation was due to its purity, but Indian wheat, for the opposite reason, is by no means in favour in England. It has been a common practice in India to mix dirt with several kinds of produce, and notably with linseed and rape-seed. So far as seeds are concerned, the nefarious practice has been to some extent stopped by the terms upon which sales are now made, a standard of purity being one of the conditions, and a movement is now taking place amongst the importers and consumers of Indian wheat for remedying the evil, which has, however, been greatly exaggerated. The increased growth of wheat is largely due to the extension of railways, which afford greater facilities for its transit to the seaboard. The first railway was opened in India in 1853, and according to the last returns the mileage has steadily increased, until in 1888 there were 14,383 miles of railway in active operation. Of these, as nearly as possible, 9000 miles are State railways, about 4500 are "assisted" and "guaranteed," and only 824 miles have been constructed by native states. There are natives of "light and leading" who complain that one of the results of railway extension has been to remove from distant parts of India to the seaboard stocks of grain which were formerly stored against seasons of famine, and that interest on the borrowed capital of Indian railways is sent to England and expended there, instead of in the country itself, both to the injury of India. The answer to these objectors is, that the same railways which carry away the wheat to market in normal times, bring back increased supplies during famines, which are abnormal and occasional. Again, it is true that it would be more advantageous to the country if the interest on borrowed capital could be retained

and expended in India; but who is to blame for the necessity of borrowing money in England, and what would be the rate of interest exacted if it were supplied by money-lenders in India? As a matter of fact, there is enough money secreted in India (and to this the objectors would add the needless storing of grain) to pay all that is required for the construction of railways, and if those who have influence with the natives would show them the impolicy of hoarding, they would render them a real service. If the money were borrowed in India under present conditions, the interest would be twice if not three times as high as it is now, and the money-lenders would be the chief gainers, whilst it would be necessary to increase the taxation in order to meet the deficit.

A little plain speaking on this matter is requisite. I am not one of those who repeat the parrot cry, "If we left India, the Rajputs would come down and conquer the country" (for there are still numbers of interested persons who raise that cry), but I am surprised that otherwise sensible natives should not be alive to the fact that it is British protection and guarantee that has enabled them to construct their railways on reasonable terms; that whilst other countries are borrowing money in England at 6 to 10 per cent., they get theirs at 4 per cent., and that railways mean civilisation and prosperity. According to the last statistical abstract there is a mile of railway to every 15,322 inhabitants in British India, against one mile to 73,279 in the native states; and a careful examination of the figures shows that the most prosperous and best-governed states possess the most railway accommodation. From personal observation, too, I have no hesitation in saying that by the introduction and extension of the railway system our Government has conferred inestimable blessings on the natives of India, and that they themselves fully appreciate its advantages.[1]

Nothing proclaims so eloquently the increasing prosperity

[1] Whilst these pages are being written, the Report (Blue Book) called "Indian Administration during the Last Thirty Years" has been issued by the India Office, and at pp. 22 and 31 the reader will find concise summaries on the subject of railways and famine. On p. 21 there is also some information about hoarding. It is very difficult to say what value in money and jewellery is hoarded in India, but it probably ranges between two and three hundred millions sterling. The question is discussed in another place.

of India as the augmented growth of cotton wool, and its extended consumption in the country itself. Long before the time of Megasthenes, who, as the reader is aware, has told us of there being "trees on which wool grows,"[1] this useful fibre was cultivated in Hindustan. During the last century, under the East India Company, it began to be exported, and the export increased steadily until the time of the American civil war, when efforts were made to improve the staple, which is short compared with that of the United States, and to secure for its longer and more silky classes a permanent market in Europe. The result of those efforts, combined with the almost total cessation in the export of cotton from the United States, is best shown in the following figures, which represent the prices of East India cotton and imports into Great Britain at two different periods. (Bull's Run, it will be remembered, was fought in 1861.)

| | Bales. | Average price. |
|---|---|---|
| The average annual imports of five years ending 1860 were | 515,000 | 5⅛d. per lb. |
| The average annual imports of five years ending 1870 were | 1,478,000 | 9⅜d. „ |

But after the close of the civil war, the demand diminished rapidly, so that the annual imports in the five years ending 1880 averaged a little over 560,000 bales, whilst the average price during the same period had receded to $3\frac{13}{16}$d. per lb. Subsequent changes will be considered presently, but it must not be supposed that the production of cotton in India had fallen off in the same ratio as the exports, for the increased growth during the American civil war gave an impetus to the manufacture of cotton goods in India itself. The first cotton-mill worked by steam was started at Tardeo, in the island of Bombay, in March 1854, with a capital of 500,000 rupees (£50,000), with 29,000 spindles, giving employment to 450 men, women, and children. In 1858 another mill was started at the same place, with five times the capital and nearly twice as many spindles, and with the weaving process added; in this factory 2032 hands were employed.[2] From

[1] McCrindle's "Megasthenes and Arrian," p. 55.

[2] Statistical Tables of British India. Calcutta Government Printing Press, 1881, p. 34.

that time to the present the industry has steadily increased. There were running—

In 1877, 1,244,206 spindles and 10,385 looms.
" 1888, 2,421,290 " " 18,536 "

And the increase is likely to continue, for on the 30th June last year the Bombay Millowners' Association published a return showing that the number of mills then running and in course of erection was 114, with 2,488,851 spindles, 19,496 looms, employing an average of 82,379 hands daily, and consuming approximately 787,000 bales of cotton, each weighing 392 lbs.

I should have liked to give my readers an exact estimate of the total present production of cotton in India, but the following is the nearest approach that can be made to accuracy:—

| | Bales. |
|---|---|
| Total exports of cotton to Great Britain for the year ending July 1, 1888, about | 395,000 |
| Total exports of cotton to the Continent for the year ending July 1, 1888, about | 780,000[1] |
| Total consumption in steam-mills in India for the year ending July 1, 1888, about | 787,000 |
| Grand total | 1,962,000 |

without reckoning the large quantity spun and woven by hand in India. These figures, compared with those previously given, serve to show how immensely India is benefiting by British capital and enterprise.

As a set-off against this increasing industry, the result of British enterprise, I shall be told, first, that the work of the steam-mills is superseding the hand-spinning of the natives. The answer is, that if it were not to the advantage of the peasantry to sell their cotton rather than to spin their yarn, they would continue the latter custom. Another counteracting disadvantage, and one that I acknowledge to be serious, is that not only cotton manufactures, but the fabrics and productions of England and of Europe generally are supplant-

[1] I am indebted for these figures to Mr. P. Brown, Secretary to the Liverpool Cotton Association.

ing Indian manufactures. The only remedy for that trouble is to carry the war into the enemy's country, for the same causes that lead to the increased consumption of European goods in India would open out a market for Indian handiwork in Europe, namely, cheapness and novelty. The latter is really the chief operating cause of the supersession of home industries by European manufactures. The Hindoos are by no means singular in their love of novelty and cheapness. How often do we hear regrets expressed that the beautiful costumes, say of Switzerland or the Tyrol, are disappearing before the fashions of our large cities. No doubt, we who see those beautiful dresses and ornaments for a brief season are unable to understand why the natives should prefer the less attractive wares of manufacturing countries; but the familiarity engendered by constant use robs them of their attraction, and the wearers or users long for a change, so that the objects which to us are familiar and commonplace present to the natives all the charm of novelty.

With this sketch of the extension of three important agricultural industries in India I must beg the reader to be satisfied. There has been a similar expansion, though in a smaller degree, in various other departments of agriculture, and a thriving trade is carried on with this country in oil-seeds, rice, jute, shellac, cinchona, and a hundred other substances. Indeed, every year some new and valuable product is being discovered which English enterprise and capital soon turns to account in the arts and manufactures.

But if India is learning much from us, we may also take a lesson out of her book. Although there are various tenures of land there, hardly an acre is cultivated without paying a rent to the Crown, which is not only nominally, as with us, but actually the landlord of the whole country. It matters not that this rent is called a land-tax, or that there are so-called "peasant proprietors." By whatever name this source of revenue may be called, it is poured into the coffers of the treasury instead of into the pockets of private individuals, and, as it has been termed in an official report, it is "rent paid to the State as the owner of the land."

A careful comparison of the available statistics shows that,

whilst in India land contributes directly about 42 per cent. of the whole revenue of the country, in England the proportion contributed, indirectly as well as directly, is somewhere between 2.5 and 9.6 per cent., but probably much nearer the former than the latter figure.[1] I have no doubt I shall be told that other conditions, such as the area of cultivated land, ought to be taken into account, but, all things considered, I think the less British *landlords* say about the burdens on land the better it will be for themselves.

The question we have to ask is, whether the Government of India is performing its duty as a landlord? and to this the replies are divergent. Of late the Government has been charged with increasing the revenue from the sale of drink without taking sufficient precautions against the increase of drunkenness amongst a peasantry who are noted for their sobriety. To that matter the House of Commons has directed its attention, and has given an emphatic expression of opinion against the present licensing system.

Another accusation is that the rural police of India, who are under Government control, are a terror rather than a blessing to the agricultural community. In the course of my inquiries in various parts of India, and these inquiries were not confined to the natives only, I found no charge so well sustained as this one. The force, which is a semi-military body, comparable to the Royal Irish Constabulary, is frequently recruited from a class of men who are quite unfit to occupy such a position. Their pay is insufficient, and they have recourse to intimidation in order to extort money from real or supposed offenders, cases being frequently trumped up with that object. If the accused succeeds in proving his innocence, the enmity of the police still follows him and makes his life intolerable. English gentlemen holding high official positions in connection with the police force have told me that they have found it difficult to obtain a hearing at headquarters, and that their complaints of irregularities and recommendations of reforms have remained unheeded. The Government itself, in its official reports, fully

[1] I have not taken these estimates from any unauthorised source, but have obtained from official quarters and Government reports the data on which the calculation is based.

admits this blot on the administration, and professes to be anxious to remove it. Act after Act has been passed, and we are told that the last one, "which came into force in June 1886, has not been sufficiently long in operation to enable a judgment to be formed upon it from the statistics of the year under report."[1]

But if the authorities have not been able to form a judgment "from statistics," the people have from practical experience. At the National Congress held at Allahabad last December, the character and conduct of the native police were condemned in unmeasured terms, not only by intelligent, well-educated natives of undoubted respectability, but by English barristers of standing who have practised in the courts of different Presidencies. In support of a resolution calling upon the Government for a reform of the police, it was stated that they are detested from one end of India to another; that they possess powers above those of the Governor-General, which they use unscrupulously; that they torture their victims; are utterly unfitted by education to hold their appointments; are men of the lowest grades; receive five to six rupees per month wages; extort bribes. "They are always hungry," said one speaker, "and their elastic appetite takes in any amount, from a pice to 100 rupees."

Possibly this account of the police force may be a little exaggerated, though I fear it is but too true; in any case, their continued presence, unreformed, is undoubtedly a danger to British rule in India, a far greater one than many acts on the part of the natives called seditious. The ignorant peasant draws no distinction between the police and the Government, which he believes to be absolute, and quite capable of removing the source of irritation and oppression if it were considered desirable. The usurious money-lenders of India and its police may one day become the sources of agrarian crime and outrage with which the authorities will find it very difficult to contend.[2] On the whole, however, it is only fair to the Indian

[1] Moral and Material Progress of India, 1886-87, p. 35.

[2] In the article referred to on the "Punjab Money-Lender" in the *Pioneer*, 1st July 1889, the writer says that there have already been undetected murders of money-lenders, where public sentiment has screened the criminal.

Government to say that they have the welfare of the agricultural community (indeed, the industrial community) sincerely at heart. This is shown by the fair terms that are conceded to pioneers in the shape of freedom from taxation for a period of years, money advances, &c.; by the thought bestowed upon the prevention and alleviation of famines; by the great irrigation works;[1] by provision for the relief of congested districts through migration, &c. In all these matters, not alone the material prosperity, but the habits and prejudices of the people are consulted; and although I found in India, as in other young states which are beginning to make progress in the direction of Western civilisation, a great many good intentions confined to print, yet on the whole I think the Government is justified in taking credit for desiring anxiously to put the following principles into practice:—To "ascertain in what parts of the Empire the agricultural population and the lower classes of the people are suffering from an insufficiency of food or agricultural capital;" to discover the causes of any degradation that exists; to ensure "that cultivators and labourers, their families and cattle, are properly fed, and their need for labour and agricultural appliances adequately met."[2]

If the Government continues vigorously to carry out this policy, it will certainly have taken a long step in advance of any previous régime in India.

[1] In the year 1886–87 the proportion of land irrigated by canals undertaken by the State, as compared with private enterprise, was over seven millions of acres, against less than one million.

[2] Supplement to the *Gazette of India*, October 20, 1888, p. 1319.

# CHAPTER XIII.

## EDUCATIONAL.

Education and proselytism in India—General state of education—Universities—Affiliated schools—Local opinions concerning education—Scholasticism—Extent of the author's personal investigations—Character of schools visited—Complaints of school managers and teachers—Transference of burdens to municipalities—Typical schools—Bombay—Ragged schools—Parsi schools—Roman Catholic institutions—Flowers and Christianity—Ahmedabad—College for girls—Their after life—Neglect of mothers—Other schools at Ahmedabad—Talented students—Political considerations—Irish Presbyterian Mission schools—Salvation Army—Christian squabbles—Insignificant proselytising results—Delhi—Muncipal schools—Cambridge Mission (Church of England)—A model institution—Physical science instruction—In India generally—Mental defects of Indian youth—Want of moral courage—Rev. S. Allnutt and his staff—Their influence on native society—Physical training—The subject discussed—Lahore—American Presbyterian Mission—Rev. Dr. Forman and his work—The new departure at Lahore—Lahore Oriental College—Calcutta—Ignorance of the lower classes—Pandit Vidyasagava and the "Metropolitan Institution"—Overcrowded classes—A tutorial feat—Evil results of the present system illustrated—Trade schools—Bombay—Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute—Description of its operations—Need for similar institutions in India—Sassoon Reformatory—Poona College of Science—Its various departments—Dr. Cooke—Madras Agricultural College—Education in native states—Institutions described—In Baroda—In Jaipur—Wretched state of education there—Zenana teachers—Their fees—Their functions and character of their tuition—Their salaries and social position—Self-denying teachers—Young ladies who have a "call" to convert the heathen—General influence of Zenana teachers—Their position misunderstood—Summary—Action of the Government—Of the universities—Effects on the nation—Mr. Caine, M.P., and the two young philosophers—The future of education and its importance in the State.

It is difficult to write about the progress of education in any country without a more or less direct reference to its bearings on politics and religion, and this applies especially to our Indian Empire, where educational activity is exercising a potent influence directly upon political life, and indirectly upon the religious and social customs of the native community. More-

over, in our great dependency this difficulty is enhanced by the fact that a great share of the educational work is being performed by societies whose avowed object is proselytism, the conversion of Hindoos and Mohammedans to Christianity. It is not my intention to treat this part of our subject historically, nor to exhibit the state of education by enumerating the existing schools, but after giving a very few figures and details to enable the reader to form some general idea of the educational condition of the country, I propose to select what appear to me typical institutions, and without prejudice to a large number of excellent agencies which exist all over India, deal with results in reforming the national character.

That the spread of education in India (although it is in its infancy) is very rapid, will be seen from the following figures. On the 31st March 1887, there were in British Indian territory, with a population of 207 millions, 127,381 educational institutions, with an attendance of 3,358,042 scholars, whilst ten years previously there were not more than half that number of schools and pupils. It is reckoned that only 19 per cent. of the boys, and only 2 per cent. of the girls of school age are under instruction. The total amount of money expended on education in 1886–87 was a little over 255 lakhs of rupees, at two shillings the rupee,[1] £2,550,000, of which about £863,000 was paid by the State, and £1,687,000 was contributed by local rates, municipal funds, school fees, subscriptions, and endowments. Roughly speaking, education is primary, secondary, and collegiate. In primary schools the education is very elementary, being confined to reading, writing, and arithmetic, and it embraces nearly 95 per cent. of the school-going population; about 5 per cent. are under secondary, and ½ per cent. under collegiate instruction. There are four universities, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Lahore. To give an idea of the kind of institutions which are affiliated upon the universities, I may mention that Bombay had 79 in 1887, and here are the names of a few to show their diversified character:—

[1] In all matters relating to expenditure of money *in India*, I prefer to take the rupee at its normal value of two shillings. The reader can reduce its value wherever he thinks it advisable.

Ahmedabad High School.
Ahmedabad Irish Presbyterian Mission High School.
Baroda College (in a native state).
Cathedral High School.
College of Science, Poona.
Government Law School.
Grant Medical College.
Indian Female Normal School.
Private tuition.
Sir Jamsetjee Jeejebhoy's Parsee Benevolent Institution, Bombay.
St. Xavier's Roman Catholic College.

In the secondary schools, which serve as a connecting link between the primary schools and colleges, we are told in the Government Report that "an advanced instruction in the vernacular, and a substantial knowledge of English, are conveyed," and the colleges themselves "impart the highest English education, or teach the various professions of law, medicine, and engineering." As a matter of fact, however, *all* the schools of higher grade in India provide a very small supply of "bread," in the shape of practical instruction of any value in the ordinary vocations of life, such as trade, agriculture, the arts, and such practical professions as medicine and surgery, but an intolerable quantity of "sack," which the report dignifies with the name of "the highest English education," in the form of classical lore, philosophy, law, and logic. The views that I frequently heard expressed of the present system of education in India were, that the classical lore unfits men to be teachers; the philosophy deprives them of their heathen faith without substituting Christianity or any other form of religion; the logic prepares them to fill Government appointments, for which they are unfitted, or which are already filled by Englishmen; and the kind of law that they are taught serves to crowd the courts of the country with half-educated pleaders.

Whatever may be the defects of the system, which we will endeavour to consider impartially, it is only right to say that no blame attaches to the Educational Department of the State, which is very anxious to promote practical instruction, but

is met and thwarted by the rigid scholasticism of the university senates and syndicates.

From the above adverse criticisms, which are not mine, but those of local critics, it will be clear to my readers that the question of education in India is intimately associated with the future government of the Empire and the fate of the nation; for no one possessed of common-sense would maintain that the country can always be governed by the sword; and during my stay in India this was therefore one of the subjects to which I directed particular attention, and with which I sought to make myself thoroughly acquainted. With this view I visited nearly forty educational establishments for young men, boys, and girls, in different parts of the country, in native states as well as in British territory. Amongst these were universities, colleges, high schools, others of a lower and of the lowest grade; schools connected with the various missionary bodies, schools of art and science, technical or trade schools, one deaf and dumb institution,[1] where the oral system is employed; reformatories; and schools connected with the military cantonments. In many of them I stayed a considerable time, making myself acquainted not only with the capacity of the pupils, but with the efficiency of the teachers, and endeavouring to ascertain what would probably be the future career of the former; and whether I was favoured with introductions, or visited the schools alone haphazard, I was always received with courtesy, and was impressed with the zeal and earnestness of the teachers and the diligence of the pupils.

One complaint that was frequently made to me by school managers or head-masters was that the policy of the Government has of late been to withdraw State support from education, and to force local municipal bodies to supply its place; and at the meeting of the National Congress at Allahabad, Mr. Adams, the head of a large school at Madras, said that the result of this policy had been to close every high school and secondary school in the city. Whether or not this is wise in a young nation, for such is India, looked at from a Western standpoint, I can hardly venture to say. It may have its advantages in modifying and improving the present system;

[1] The only institution for deaf mutes in India.

but with the constantly increasing demands upon the recently established municipalities, by whom education is not yet fully appreciated, it appears to me to be at least somewhat premature —in fact, it is doing what the official classes are never tired of deprecating, namely, attempting to rule India on English principles. And now for a few examples of institutions which appear to me of a typical character.

Some of the lowest elementary schools in India resemble our dame's schools. In company with Mr. Bennett, the intelligent young sub-editor of the *Gazette*, I visited one of those schools in Bombay. It was held up a kind of court or entry; the children sat on benches against the walls, and received only the very first rudiments of education in the vernacular from a priest. The charge, where the children could pay, was four annas per month—roughly speaking, about 1½d. per week; but this and similar schools are largely supported by benevolent Parsees, Hindoos, and Roman Catholics, so that extreme poverty does not stand in the way of the children receiving gratuitously such instruction as the schools afford.

Of the Parsee girls' schools in Bombay I have already spoken, and may here repeat that they are by no means uniform in their standard of excellence. In one I received the impression that the mistresses were backward and took little pride in their pupils, whose appearance was picturesque; but their accomplishments seemed to have received more attention than even their elementary education. In another the teachers (English) were very efficient, the girls bright, eager to learn, very clever, and thoroughly well grounded in general education as well as accomplishments. In a third, everything else seemed to be sacrificed in order to prepare the girls for the university. They were strong in algebra, but very weak in geography. In these schools the instruction is moral; "moral songs" are sung, and the girls are fitted to become the mistresses of homes and ornaments of civilised and refined social circles.

In St. Mary's College, Bombay, a typical Roman Catholic institution, there are 210 boarders who are taught "up to matriculation." Amongst them are Europeans, Eurasians, native Christians (Catholics), and a few Protestants; seventy-five are orphans. The pupils pay 20 to 25 rupees per month,

and Government makes a grant of 6000 rupees per annum. At Pandera, also near Bombay, there is a Roman Catholic domestic institution for native girls, who are frequently married from the school to young Christians and Hindoos engaged on railways or in trades. There the girls are taught sewing, needlework, music, and all the domestic duties of housewives. I consider this and similar institutions amongst the most effective agencies for social reform in the country; the girls either return to their parents' homes, where they become lay missionaries, or enter homes of their own and perform a similar function. Generally, however, on visiting Roman Catholic institutions, I was struck there, as in nearly every other large educational establishment, by the great want of practical instruction; and I was told that "the kind of education required by Government precludes practical instruction."

A circumstance occurred during my visit to a Roman Catholic college which, although not strictly connected with education, was of great interest as illustrating the habits of the natives and the methods of the missionaries. My reverend guide, the late respected Archbishop of Bombay (Dr. Porter), took me into the chapel, which was profusely decorated with wreaths and festoons of beautiful flowers, and when I expressed surprise, he said it was one of the chief delights of the pupils, which they encouraged rather than forbade. It seemed to me to be a connecting link between Hinduism and Roman Catholic Christianity.

But to proceed. At Ahmedabad there is an excellent training college for women. There are sixty-nine married women and widows from sixteen to thirty, who afterwards teach in schools of different grades. Some are either the wives of schoolmasters, or, if young widows, they are afterwards married to schoolmasters, the husband teaching the boys and the wife the girls. There is one great drawback to this system, namely, that the wife is too much occupied with teaching to attend to her maternal duties; and as some of the municipalities care little about education and less about girls, no attention is paid to the mother during pregnancy and childbirth, and the children are neglected and die. I heard this sad tale in more than one locality. At another school in Ahmedabad I spent

some time conversing with and asking questions of the highest class of boys (many were young married men), and I was astonished at the breadth of their information. Instead of going through the ordinary form of examination in different branches of knowledge, I tested their capacity by inquiring about the natural productions of various countries, the advantages accruing from different industrial pursuits, the bearings of freight, strikes, currency, &c., on trade and manufactures. Then I led them to compare the Irish demand for Home Rule (which they perfectly understood!) with those formulated by the Indian National Congress; to explain to me the effects of land tenure in different parts of India upon the condition of the agricultural community. On all these matters they gave me intelligent replies. They were conversant with the leading points in constitutional history, more than one being evidently familiar with Hallam; and finally, in order to test their practical knowledge of geography, I made them tell me the names and discoveries of the leading explorers from early times down to the present day. They knew quite as much about Stanley as about Vasco da Gama, and I question very much whether it would be possible to find in any one educational institution in Europe a whole class of young people who possess such varied information as those Hindoo lads at Ahmedabad. Two facts were forcibly impressed upon me by this interview: first, that the want of practical knowledge amongst the Indian youth is the fault, not of the taught, but of the teachers or the system; and secondly, that those persons who talk about the desire for representative government being confined to "a small educated minority," know little of the views and feelings of the rising generation. We shall have further opportunities for the discussion of this interesting topic. Let me just add in passing, that much of the success of the tuition in Ahmedabad, which is in British territory, is due to Mr. Mahipatram, a native gentleman, who may be said to represent the educational branch of the municipality. But there is also at Ahmedabad one of the missions of the Irish Presbyterians, where 850 children are educated, namely, 250 boys in a high school, 300 boys in three vernacular schools, and 300 girls in the same number of

vernacular schools. Now, in my introductory remarks on education in India, I said that it is impossible entirely to dissociate the subject from social and religious considerations, and here we have a case in point. The schools are conducted by the most kindly, self-denying, and zealous missionaries, and with the most philanthropic objects. Most of the children in one of the girls' schools are the daughters of low-caste cotton-hands, &c., who are glad to pay a small fee to have their children educated by the missionaries, for they would not be admitted into the regular schools (pretty much as a tradesman's child would not be admitted into a school where the children of the upper ten are taught in England); but when these Hindoo girls leave, they must generally marry into caste, and much good is neutralised by their being obliged to conform to caste usages. Again, I found that at Shahavadi, a village about four miles from Ahmedabad, a Christian community with schools had been established by the Irish Presbyterians, but that in 1884 emissaries of the Salvation Army came and took away many Christians, who subsequently left the "Army," but did not return to the Presbyterian fold. This is one of the results of the squabbles amongst Christians themselves. There was any amount of preaching in church and in the bazaars, but on inquiry I was told that the sum total of conversions during the year had been one Brahmin, two Banyas or traders, and two low castes. Now, I am here merely stating facts, and am far from admitting the principle that the value of missionary effort is to be measured by the number of conversions or by the cost per head, but such facts must be borne in mind when we come to form a general estimate of the success or failure of the missionary enterprise.

At Delhi, a city containing 173,000 inhabitants, there is a number of very valuable educational institutions connected with the municipality, as well as with missionary enterprise. Of these, two are conspicuous for their excellence, namely, the municipal schools, and those belonging to the Cambridge Mission (Church of England). At the central municipal school and its branches there are 848 scholars, of whom 719 are Hindoos and 129 Mohammedans. Concerning these two

denominations, I may mention that throughout India I have found that the Mohammedan scholars are not so intelligent nor so educable as the Hindoos, but that they possess greater power of acquiring Oriental languages. The municipal schools at Delhi comprise classes of various grades, from the lowest primary upwards, including Anglo-Arabic and Anglo-Sanskrit classes. They are well supported, the total expenditure being R.23,460 or £2346 per annum, of which the scholars contribute R.5892 or £589, a very fair proportion considering the poverty of some of the parents. R.2224 are devoted to scholarships. I found the scholars fairly proficient, but, as usual, only in such branches as would fit them for the public service. Here, too, I found some provision for physical training in the shape of cricket. In visiting the municipality schools, I had the advantage of the guidance of Mr. Khanya Lal, an able retired inspector of schools, from whom I obtained an insight into the working of the whole system.

At the Cambridge Mission College and schools (St. Stephen's) I found one of the best and most satisfactorily organised educational institutions in India—educational not only in a scholastic, but also in a moral sense. There is a central school with six branches, in which altogether 750 boys are trained. They are all natives of the Hindoo and Mohammedan faiths, except twenty-five who are Christians. The course of instruction embraces every degree, from the lowest elementary to the preparatory B.A.; but although I visited most of the classes, my attention was here particularly attracted by those of the higher grade. The education is generally useful, and includes the physical sciences, in which the young men were fairly proficient. Here, as elsewhere, I tested their knowledge, not by questions from text-books, but by making them draw diagrams on the black-board showing the principle and action of the telephone, hydraulic cotton-press, and other appliances, with which they were or ought to be familiar. The results at this institution were satisfactory, but at other places where they profess to make physical science a prominent subject, I was frequently disappointed at finding the work neglected or inefficient. Now it was the professor who was absent, then the apparatus was out of order or imperfect; and as to the

student under examination, he would seek to envelop his ignorance in a cloud of words, whilst others were on the look-out to profit by his failure, and often volunteered to take his place—and displayed even a greater degree of ignorance. Hindoo boys, and even, for that matter, many of riper years, when they are asked to solve a problem or explain a subject of which they are ignorant, will, if you allow them, go on talking loosely for half an hour, in the hope of hitting upon the correct solution or reply; they seldom have the moral courage to say, "I don't know."

At St. Stephen's College, too, there is a cricket-club, and physical education is not neglected. The general impression that I formed of the whole establishment was that the principal, the Rev. S. Allnutt, M.A., and all his staff, are gentlemen, training a large body of young natives to become like themselves. They undoubtedly exercise a most wholesome influence upon their *entourage* and upon native society generally, breaking down superstitions with which even the most ardent Hindoo reformers dare not meddle; and whether or not their baptismal experiments be a success, they are undoubtedly teaching a large number of young Hindoos practical Christianity. Of these facts I had ocular demonstration of the most convincing kind, and it seems to me that all who have the welfare of India at heart must be glad to support this and similarly well-conducted missionary enterprises.

Speaking of physical education, it may not be inappropriate here to mention, that whilst there is a marked absence of provision for it in Indian schools, and that where such provision exists the students fail to benefit by it, the number of native cricket-clubs throughout the country is increasing rapidly; and I have very little doubt that in a generation or two there will be a marked improvement in the physique of the nation, provided always that the customs of the seclusion of women, early marriages, and enforced marriages within the caste be relaxed or discontinued. The absence of physical training is not due to the climate, for the English, to whom it is more trying than to the natives, keep up their manly exercises, and it is delightful to find oneself at some far-distant station in the midst of a party of officers and civilians with their lady friends actively

engaged in lawn-tennis. The natives are, however, beginning to follow their example, and probably their activity is stimulated by the constant repetition of the taunts they hear about a handful of Rajputs putting a crowd of Baboos to flight. (Just imagine a score of armed Highland soldiers charging with fixed bayonets into the Royal Exchange at 'Change time!) Be that as it may, there are many indications that the natives are beginning to have their eyes opened to the necessity for physical exercise, so that their bodily strength may not lag behind their already highly-developed mental faculties. It will be an auspicious day for all nationalities in India when the power of Great Britain shall be backed up, not by the lances and bayonets of hired Rajputs, but by the good-will of strong-bodied, intelligent, and loyal civilians.

But the education of the natives of our dependency has not been left to our countrymen alone. From Lahore in the north-west, down as far as Allahabad, the American Presbyterians are performing a work second to none in its efficiency. At the former place they have a splendid mission, in charge of the Rev. Dr. Forman, one of the finest old gentlemen in the country (Plate VIII.). I believe he was the first Christian missionary in the Punjab. For boys they have a college with about 135 students, a high school with 525, and branch elementary schools with about 750 pupils. They teach 500 girls in suitable schools, and have in addition a self-supporting adult night-school with seventy-four pupils. Of the whole number, however, only thirty-five are Christians, the rest being Hindoos and Mohammedans. At the same time, it must be mentioned that the Bible is read in the vernacular, and strangely enough, there is no attempt at interference, as there is in many other places, on the part of the native priesthood. Our Government encourages and supports the American Mission with great liberality. When I was there, the schools were located in a large quadrangular house, but a fine new building was in course of erection, for which the Government had provided the land and half the cost of the building, the remainder having been subscribed by local friends of all denominations and nationalities. Altogether, the people of Lahore

have subscribed a lakh of rupees (£10,000) in support of the mission. The salaries of the teachers and ministers are paid with funds from the United States. The scholars of the higher classes are very intelligent, not so well acquainted with Indian history as might be expected, but they read English well, and understand thoroughly most of what they read; indeed, they are so far Anglicised as to applaud by clapping their hands when visitors take their departure. The students of the college, many of whom are married, are very quick, sometimes more quick than clear in their replies to questions. They seem most anxious to learn, and are well acquainted with the practical application of their knowledge.

Lahore contains a large number of valuable educational institutions, and it was there that the question of vernacular teaching in schools may be said to have been settled. Up to the year 1876, the senates of the universities, in framing the curriculum, which receives the sanction of the Viceroy in Council and naturally gives the direction to secondary education, refused to encourage instruction in any language other than English; but when the University of Lahore was founded, there was an animated discussion in the Viceregal Council as to whether Lahore should proceed on the old lines or on an Oriental basis. The latter course was adopted, and the ice once broken, a great impulse was given to teaching in the vernacular; whilst at Lahore, besides the Government teaching college, of which Mr. Lewis is the able principal, there is the Oriental College, presided over by Dr. Stein, who is also registrar of the university.

The circumstance that struck me most forcibly in connection with education in India is the defective nature of the instruction given in some of the large schools in the capital itself—a deficiency which I cannot help thinking accounts for the ignorance of many of the poorer classes. You can hardly walk a hundred yards in Calcutta without being stopped by one or more messengers, who push a letter or card under your nose, and wait until you point out to them the direction in which they should proceed with their missive. When they are told this, they go on blindly for a few paces, or as soon as they come to a street corner, when you see them stop

some one else for further directions. They can neither speak English, nor read the names on streets, nor the numbers on the houses. A young native friend told me that if he has a letter or message to send to any particular house, he gives very plain directions to his servant as to which way he is to go, where he is to turn, and what kind of house he must look for, but that twice out of three times he fails to reach his destination.

In Calcutta I visited several schools, and found most of them overcrowded, and by no means equal to those of the Mofussil. The most interesting of these schools is the so-called "Metropolitan Institution," the inception of which bears testimony to the benevolence of a private individual, Pandit Vidyasagara, who is, as I understood, practically the proprietor. Originally it was founded by a few native gentlemen as a training school, but at present it comprises a central college and four branch schools, which are entirely self-supporting, and give instruction to over 4200 scholars. From a statement which was given to me by the principal, I learned that in the college, with 1200 students, there are only thirteen professors; nor am I disposed to doubt this fact, for in one class-room I found a gentleman perched up at a desk attempting to instruct 150 students; and when I expressed astonishment at such a tutorial feat, and inquired how he managed it, he admitted that it required great physical exertion, as he had to shout to make himself heard by the students at the far end of the room. In another way this school, which is no doubt in many respects an excellent institution, illustrates the chief defect of the Indian system of education. At the end of the report is a statement that "in the course of the last nine years the institution has turned out above 700 graduates in Arts and Law;" and when the reader remembers that this is only one of hundreds of such institutions, and (on the highest authority) that the whole system of education in India turns out, first and chiefly, candidates for civil employment; secondly, teachers; thirdly, lawyers; and fourthly, "a few medical men," he may judge of the character of the institution, and of the difficulty in finding employment for the B.A.'s with whom the country swarms.

But if the want of practical instruction be one of the defects in the present system of education in India, there are already hopeful signs that it is not always to remain so; and if the reader will again cross to the Bombay side of the Peninsula, he may have an opportunity of visiting what may without exaggeration be pronounced a model technical school.

The Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute is a credit not only to its zealous principal, Mr. Phythian, C.E., but to the influential committee and supporters to which its efficiency and success are largely attributable. It is held in the old Elphinstone College buildings in Bombay, and was established as recently as September 1887, with 120 students. To show the great need there is for such institutions, it is only necessary to mention that whilst it was expected that the highest number of students reached would be 160, there were already at the time of my visit in 1888, 240, of whom 115 were Parsees, 107 were Hindoos, 12 were Christians, 4 Mussulmans, and 2 Hebrews.

The average age of the students is nineteen; they do not board on the premises; the cost of tuition is about 36 rupees per annum, which amount is doubled by extras, books, &c.; in all, therefore, under £8 per head. The course of instruction is essentially practical, being designed to prepare students for professions and manufacturing industries. The chief subjects taught are machine-drawing, mechanics (theoretical and applied), steam and physics, with a laboratory in each department. A model cotton-mill was in course of erection, in which the students are to be taught spinning, weaving, &c.; lectures, to the excellence of which I can bear testimony from personal observation, were already being delivered on the economic properties of cotton, &c. Mechanical engineering is to be taught in the institution, where tools of all needful kinds, such as planing machines, lathes, &c., as well as forges, were being erected. The Government gives a handsome sum in aid, and the remaining revenue is derived from the students' fees and private subscriptions. The young men show great aptitude and anxiety to learn; but even here, under one of the best principals whom it was possible to secure, and with excellent demonstrators, I could not help noticing the same want of

accuracy and precision in definition as amongst Indian boys everywhere else. It is, however, hardly fair as yet to judge of their capabilities, for most of them had been but a short period under instruction.

Such institutions as this ought to be found in every industrial centre in India. The country is so rich in natural products, of which the natives hardly know the uses, and so many of them might be economically employed there instead of being sent to Europe, that I am convinced it would be a great advantage, and would add to the prosperity of the people, if the Supreme Government appointed a small Commission to ascertain what could be done in that direction, and should then give practical effect to its recommendations.

Another very interesting institution in Bombay is the Sassoon Reformatory for the industrial training of boys (some, if not all of them, committed), where they are taught coach-making and other branches of industry. This would serve as a model for our prison reformers and philanthropists, and similar institutions might with advantage be established at home.

One of the most useful institutions for the furtherance of industrial knowledge and practice is the College of Science at Poona. The operations of this establishment, which is under the care of a most enthusiastic principal, Dr. Cooke, are of a multifarious kind. They are carried on in a beautiful building about two miles from the railway station, and although an unpretending institution was established as far back as 1854, the present building was only completed in 1868. The subjects taught are civil engineering, mathematics, experimental physics, mining, metallurgy, chemistry, architecture, forestry, farming, veterinary surgery, &c. There is a farm of 150 acres, which has recently been transferred to the Agricultural Department; a veterinary hospital, where lectures are delivered; mechanical, physical, and chemical laboratories, workshops, foundries, &c. In fact, the only unfavourable impression that was made upon my mind was that too much is being attempted under one roof. At the time of my visit, most of the students were out levelling and surveying, so I had hardly an opportunity to form a correct opinion con-

BARODA COLLEGE AND HIGH SCHOOL.

Maclure, Macdonald & Co., Glasgow.

TH[illegible] CHOWK, MAIN NATIVE STREET, DELHI.

cerning them. There are in all about 200 of every nationality, but chiefly Hindoos; they board on the premises, and pay 100 rupees per annum. About 100 are in the workshops, which are nearly self-supporting, as they execute work for the whole surrounding neighbourhood, the students being formally apprenticed to Dr. Cooke for a term of three years. There are seventeen masters, including the principal, who receive in all about £6750 per annum in salaries; and, so far as I could judge during a hasty visit under disadvantageous conditions, the institution appears to be very efficiently and creditably managed.[1]

There is, so far as I could ascertain, only one other agricultural college in India. This is near Madras, and it consists of a college with boarding-houses in a small compound of thirty acres. There are about eighty students, thirty of whom are pensioners of the State; the course of instruction lasts three years, and nominally comprises, besides the ordinary agricultural education, including here irrigation, a number of other subjects, such as sylviculture, chemistry, botany, &c., a botanic garden being one of the adjuncts.

These are a few of the institutions where practical instruction is given in the useful arts, and there are in various places "art schools" for instruction in pottery and the fine arts; but the whole thing is in its infancy, and it is necessary to repeat that it is incumbent on the State to provide, in some form or other, additional means of instruction that will enable young men to understand the uses and value of the indigenous products of the soil.

A few words concerning education in the native states. I visited the leading institutions in Baroda and some in Jaipur, and comparing them with those in British territory, I did not find them as efficient, although in Baroda especially efforts are being made by the authorities to foster education. There is a college (Plate XIX.) and high school at Baroda, containing a chemical laboratory, to accommodate sixty students, but only three attended; and from circumstances that came

[1] During my visit to Poona I went over the Deccan College, and found the memory of their former principal, Sir Edwin Arnold, still fresh in the minds of the students, who made me the bearer of a message of kindly greeting.

under my notice, I fear the prospects of technical instruction are for the present confined to paper. At an excellent boys' school at Baroda I found the pupils well up in Indian history and geography, and possessing some knowledge of English history. There are schools also where boys are taught who are only acquainted with the vernacular languages, Marathi, Guzerati, &c., and a "Sirdar" school for the sons of chiefs, &c. There is an excellent training school for girls, of whom there were 120 under instruction, who were fairly proficient in various branches of knowledge. As for Jaipur, everything in the way of education and enlightenment seems to have been due to the late Maharajah (of the present one the less said the better). I visited several schools, but the best three are the Maharajah's College, the School of Art, an industrial school of high order, and Miss Hemming's girls' school.[1]

So far as education goes, that given at the college is excellent, embracing not only all the usual branches, but Sanskrit, Vedic literature, Persian, &c., and there is a staff of very accomplished pandits. Miss Hemming's school is a model in its way. It consists of a central school and branches, with an average attendance of 230 girls, several of whom, including one of nine years of age (!), were married.

But the reader may judge of the condition of the people of Jaipur when he hears that, according to the official report, only a little over 5 per cent. of the male population of school age, and under $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the females, are under instruction.

To the preceding account of some typical educational institutions in India I would like to add a few remarks concerning the teaching by English ladies in zenanas. In two of the zenanas which I had the privilege of visiting, the ladies give instruction in elementary knowledge and in needlework, namely, two lessons a week of an hour each; and I was told, by natives thoroughly well informed on the subject, that the fees paid to the zenana teachers vary in different families and in various parts of India from 8 annas to 50 rupees per month, according to the means and rank of the

[1] In the public gardens at Jaipur the Albert Hall contains one of the most magnificent industrial and economic collections in India—I should be disposed to say, in the whole world.

families in which instruction is given. In a few families the women are comparatively well educated, but in very many cases they read very little excepting during lesson-time, their occupations, such as cooking for their male relatives, keeping the house clean, &c., &c., precluding any continued application to study. I am unable to say with authority how the fees are applied, as I have been unable to procure a balance sheet which shows this satisfactorily, but I understand that the fees usually go to the Missionary Society to which the ladies belong, and that the teachers receive salaries varying from 80 to 150 rupees per month, or (taking the rupee at 2s.) from £96 to £180 per annum, with free quarters and conveyances. In a large number of cases the salaries are considerably lower, and many instances of devotion and disinterestedness came under my notice; whilst, on the other hand, I found that some of the young ladies who go out to India, having a "call" to convert the heathen, resemble those who put in short terms as hospital nurses at home.[1] I am bound to say that the general impression which I formed was that many a poor English governess would gladly brave the climate if she could enjoy the comforts and social position which fall to the lot of a considerable number of the zenana ladies. As a rule, they exercise a good moral and social influence upon the women with whom they come into contact; but I am afraid there are some—and I hope it is only a very small minority—who are not so anxious as they should be, for professional reasons, to see the *pardah* system (the seclusion of women) abolished.

This is a delicate matter, on which more might be said, but I trust that my remarks will not be taken to mean anything more than that the social and material position of the zenana ladies does not seem to me to be well understood at home; but that they, or a very large proportion of them, are doing a very beneficent work in India, though not in the direction usually supposed. To be plain: as soon as

[1] One case came under my notice which reminded me of the pilgrim who boiled the peas in his shoes—I daresay the reader knows the story. I was told by a zenana teacher that Miss —— and Miss —— had come out to India as teachers, but "they are well off, and don't mean to give up all social intercourse; I mean lawn-tennis and that kind of thing."

they attempt to proselytise, they are breaking faith with their native employers.

The subject of education is a dry one, and I fear that the reader's patience will have been exhausted by these details, imperfect and partial though they be, concerning the various kinds of educational institutions in India; but it must be remembered that the future destiny of the people is largely dependent upon the education of its youth, far more so than in many countries where rulers and ruled are of the same nationality. To sum up, therefore: from personal experience and careful observation, from the study of the reports of many institutions, and from the printed and oral statements of officials of every rank, from the highest to the lowest, I have formed the impression, first, that the Government is extremely anxious to do what the writer whose remarks I quoted at the beginning of the second part of my work says it ought to do, "to promote education on the most extensive scale"—this is with the qualification named as to the transference of burdens to municipalities; secondly, that the officials desire this education to be practical, and extend aid to every class and denomination without favour or partiality, looking at results alone. On the other hand, the course of instruction, which commences from above at the dictation of the University authorities, and necessarily filters down through the whole educational system, is far too scholastic, and is to a large extent useless for the ordinary vocations of the recipients, especially in such a country as India, where the prosperity of the inhabitants depends upon its industrial resources. The schools turn out, not practical men of the world, but aspirants after Government employment and teachers, with a considerable sprinkling of useless young pedants. Here is an illustration, which some may call a caricature, but which is only an exaggeration of many similar instances of the results of the present system.

Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., whom I met in India, told me at Lahore that two students had come to him from the Government College one Sunday afternoon. They informed him that the object of their visit was to discuss English literature with their "distinguished visitor" at Lahore. Mr. Caine, who was

there in the cause of drink reform, asked them what branch of literature they wished to discuss with him. One of them replied, "We should first like to discuss with you the writings and opinions of Thomas Carlyle, then we should be pleased to go on to discuss those of Mr. Herbert Spencer, and after that we should be glad to discuss any pure and noble English writer whom you yourself would suggest." "I need hardly tell you," Mr. Caine said to me, "that I had important letters to write, and after a little conversation, wished my learned friends 'good afternoon.'" And this was at Lahore, where, as I have said, the old traditions were first broken through, and where they have one of the most accomplished principals in the whole country!

Still, with all its obvious defects, education is making good progress in India, thanks to the large-minded liberality of the State, the praiseworthy efforts of missionaries, and the natural aptitude of the native youth; and if there be one fact beyond all dispute, it is that the religious and social reform, as well as the material prosperity of the whole nation, will largely depend upon its development—in the right direction.

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# CHAPTER XIV.

## MEDICAL—LADY DUFFERIN'S FUND.

Native doctors and their remedies—Priestcraft—"*Kura*"—"*Moxa*"—Their application—Spread of the English system of medicine—Medical relief and proselytism—The Government medical system—English doctors and native assistants—Unfair distribution of salaries—Equitable remuneration to natives in medical schools—The native States—The hospital at Baroda—Lady Dufferin's Fund—Its objects—Native Dhais—Their barbarous treatment of patients—Ignorance, carelessness, criminal intent—Infanticide—Confessions of a Dhai—Treatment of women in childbirth—Benevolent action of Lady Dufferin—The National Association for Supplying Medical Aid to the Women of India—Its widespread ramifications—Medical women—Their classification, remuneration, and functions—Benefits conferred by the Association—India as a field for lady-practitioners—Advantages and drawbacks—(Note: Mrs. Scharlieb, M.D.)—Political results of Lady Dufferin's movement.

"Woe to the wretched people who call
A native quack to their aid.

. . . . . .

One glorious blessing of English rule
Is—death to their tricks, uncouth,
Through the silent work of the medical school
And the spread of medical truth."—*Lays of Ind*.

THERE is a little exaggeration in these quoted lines, written by one of the most delightful poets of our Eastern Empire. It is true that the methods of the native doctors are empirical, that they have no scientific system, and that their remedies are frequently associated with incantations, and are applied according to Vedic formulæ. But many of them are very clever, their remedies often effective, and we have no need to travel all the way to India in search of faith-healing! The native doctors in the villages are chiefly Brahmins and women, who employ the herbs of the country, in many instances with considerable

success. Their favourite remedy for fever is called "*Kura*," black and white (*Wrightea anti-dysenterica*), which is given internally, as well as applied to the pulse with Vedic formulæ. Sometimes the patient is kept hot with bricks, at others he is made to drink a great deal of hot water, and is then rolled in a blanket and kept warm by three or four people sitting upon him. I was assured that this method is very efficacious. They bleed very cleverly with lancets, chiefly in the elbow, and cauterise with "*Moxa*," a weed bearing an inflammable down. The same plant is also used to cure various maladies, such as sciatica, lumbago, neuralgia, swellings of the joints, &c.; but although the association of religious rites with medicine helps to maintain the influence of the native doctors, English medical institutions have sprung up everywhere, and the English system is gradually driving them out of the field.[1]

Reference has already been made to the dispensaries attached to missions, and to the practice in some of them of combining proselytism with gratuitous medical aid. In regard to this misuse of philanthropy, it is only necessary to say that it is hardly a step in advance of the native methods of securing religious influence, and the great favour shown to Lady Dufferin's Medical Mission cannot fail to cause its discontinuance.

The chief object of this chapter is to treat of Lady Dufferin's Mission, which is free from all theological bias, and is doing much to convince the natives of India of the disinterestedness of our rule, but a few words concerning similar agencies promoted by the State may not be uninteresting. The medical system of India may be said to have for its basis the Army Medical Department, which is under the superintendence of a "surgeon-general," with a complete staff under him. Every station has a civil surgeon, usually a covenanted military doctor, who is allowed to undertake private practice, and one of whose duties is to see the Vaccination Act carried out. There are numerous medical colleges and other centres of

[1] Readers who are interested in this part of the subject will find much useful information in Dr. Thomas A. Wise's "Commentary on the Hindoo System of Medicine" (Calcutta, 1845), and in Dr. Dymock's "The Vegetable Materia Medica of Western India" (Bombay).

medical instruction which are sending out a considerable number of fairly qualified practitioners, including many natives, but on the whole the supply falls far short of the requirements of the nation. The native states are following the lead of the British, and great encouragement is given by native rulers and wealthy citizens to the establishment and support of hospitals, infirmaries, and dispensaries.

One serious obstacle in the way of increasing the supply of medical men seems to me to be the unfair and invidious difference made in the remuneration of native as compared with English professional men employed in our service, and the same, it may be added, applies to legal and other departments of the State. Take Delhi, for example, where the civil surgeon (a military man) is paid 1150 rupees per month, whilst his two native assistants receive only 150 each. In Lahore, the English civil surgeon gets 1050 rupees, the native assistants 150 rupees—indeed, throughout India the proportion is everywhere as seven or eight for the English to one for the native official. Is it to be wondered at that the dissatisfaction felt at the "plums" being everywhere reserved for the British should begin to find utterance in the native press and in the National Congress? So far as the medical department is concerned, it cannot possibly be urged, as it is in the legal administration, that the moral qualities which are requisite demand a greatly increased scale of remuneration for the Englishman. If the services of an English civil surgeon be worth £1380 per annum, surely those of his chief assistants, if they be of any value whatever, must be rated low at £180, no matter to what nationality they belong. This does not apply, however, to the medical colleges and schools. For example, at the Campbell Medical School and Hospital, Calcutta, the superintendent, an English surgeon-major, receives 550 rupees per month, and there are eight professors and demonstrators, all natives, most of whom get from 300 to 350 rupees, and a number of native assistants who receive 100 to 150 rupees. Can anything prove more conclusively that it is not the incapacity of the natives, but favouritism of the dominant race, which awards disproportionately high salaries to the English officials? We shall have occasion to notice similar

inequalities in other departments of the State, and they are of vital importance in the political relations of the governors and the governed.

As I have said, the example of the English in establishing medical institutions is wisely followed by the native governments, but one excellent illustration must suffice. The State hospital at Baroda is a beautiful light structure, or rather series of buildings in brick and stone. The main building contains six wards, which accommodate fifty-six patients, and at the time of my visit they were quite full. The comforts of the patients and the attention they receive generally is all that could be desired. Then there is a cholera ward, which holds twelve patients. Cholera is the worst epidemic in India; it usually arises from eating raw fruits, and periodical notices are put out, as in the case of mad dogs with us, warning the people of the danger. There is an ophthalmic ward, with accommodation for eight, and an obstetric ward for six patients. In addition, there are four "gentlemen's wards," with accommodation for ten patients. All are free, and the medical service consists of two medical officers and two assistants. Attached to the hospital is a dispensary, giving relief and medicines to about 100 out-patients. As I have said, similar institutions are now to be found in all parts of India, attached to state and municipal establishments and to religious missions. As far as the medical institutions of Baroda are concerned, they reflect great credit upon the young Gaekwar, who takes a personal interest in all such matters. (I cannot refrain here from recording my obligation to Dewan Bahadur Manibhai Jasbhai, one of the Gaekwar's Council, for the attention he paid to me during my visit to Baroda, and for the frank explanations he gave to me at the various institutions we visited. It was, however, on a par with similar treatment which I experienced at the hands of Englishmen as well as natives all over India.)

It is without prejudice to the admirable institutions referred to above as existing throughout the Empire, that I propose to devote the remainder of this short chapter to an account of the so-called "Countess of Dufferin's Fund," which is administered and managed by the "National Association for Supplying

Medical Aid to the Women of India." In several places, as, for example, in the chapter on the "Women of India," and in the one on "Education," I have referred to the neglected condition of the weaker sex. Something has been accomplished by such ladies as Miss Carpenter and by many native reformers to ameliorate their lot, and an immense deal of printing-ink has been expended on the same object. But to Lady Dufferin is due the credit of having initiated and fostered a movement which bids fair to eclipse all others of a similar kind, and to draw closer the bonds which unite us with our Indian fellow-subjects.

The female practitioners to whom the health and safety of the women of India have been and are still very largely intrusted during pregnancy and childbirth are called Dhāīs or Dāis, a name very closely approximating to that of a witch (Dāī), and one which is in many cases very appropriate. Some of these women are conscientious and possessed of ability, but by far the larger number are entirely unfitted for their duties. They are guilty of the grossest malpractices, arising usually from one of three causes, ignorance, carelessness, or criminal intention. In the first case, ignorance, the Dāi so far exhausts the patient in the first hours of her illness, that when the crisis comes she has no strength left; the child is born dead, and the mother only just escapes with her life. Carelessness leads to the use of bedding so indescribably unclean, that fever after childbirth is rather the rule than the exception; and mismanagement in connection with bathing is followed in many cases by lockjaw, which is nearly always fatal. And lastly, vicious or criminal intention causes the wilful murder of infants in the birth by breaking their backs or twisting their necks. One old Dhāi confessed on her death-bed that she had herself destroyed hundreds of children.[1]

[1] Report of Miss Hewlett, in charge of the Maternity Hospital at Amritsar, in "A Record of Three Years' Work of the National Association for Supplying Medical Aid to the Women of India," by the Countess of Dufferin, C.I. This and other statements are given on the authority of experienced medical practitioners in various parts of India in Lady Dufferin's pamphlet. To that publication and to the oral testimony of leading medical men in different places, and especially to Dr. Da Cunha of Bombay, I am indebted for much of the general information contained in this chapter.

From what I could learn, however, the destruction of the infant is often instigated or sanctioned by the parents. The mode of treatment at childbirth is most barbarous. In Central India, when the child is born, the mother is made to stand up, and pressure is applied to her body either by the head or knee of the Dhāi; she is then made to lie down on a *chārpāi* (bedstead), under which a charcoal fire is placed, irrespective of the season of the year. The room is usually devoid of anything approaching ventilation—indeed, in many cases it may be described as a hermetically sealed chamber. In Burma the practices are still more barbarous; and Lady Dufferin says, from reports she has received, that the unhealthy room, the charcoal fire, crowds of spectators, and accumulating filth (for nothing whatever is brought out of the sick-room while the mother remains there), are conditions common to most parts of India.

No wonder then that the good heart of the Viceroy's lady should have prompted her to make an effort at medical reform, and it is very gratifying to know that her scheme has received support from men and women of all nationalities and denominations, from wealthy laymen, both English and native, from Hindoo high priests, and Protestant and Catholic archbishops. Her Association, which is strictly secular, has already central stations and branches all over India—in Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the Central Provinces, Mysore, the North-West Provinces, Oudh, the Punjab, Berar, and Burma. The doors of the leading medical institutions have been thrown open for the instruction of the ladies who are undertaking the active medical work, and many of whom are natives of various denominations. Female hospitals and dispensaries are springing up all over the country, officered by women, some of whom have medical degrees, and the whole organisation is receiving a fair amount of state and municipal support.[1] It affords a field for female employment for British as well as native women, and several lady-doctors have already

[1] There are hospitals at Lahore, Agra, Calcutta, Madras, Udaipur, Ulwar, Durbungha, Nagpur, Rangoon, Mysore, Hyderabad-Deccan; female wards at Lucknow, Indore, and Bhopal; and dispensaries in all those places, and in addition at Hyderabad-Sind, Delhi, Cuttack, and Bhagulpur.

gone out from England to take charge of the Association hospitals.

The medical women are grouped in three grades: first, lady-doctors registered under the Medical Acts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or possessing such certificate of qualification as would entitle them to such registration; secondly, female assistant-surgeons; thirdly, female hospital assistants. The designations are the same as those given to men who in the Government medical service take corresponding degrees, the word "female" being added to each. Ladies taking service with the Association have to sign a five years' agreement, and medical women of the highest grade, if they come from England, receive their passage-money and an outfit allowance, and R.300 per month salary, or R.350 if no lodging is provided. They have a month's holiday annually on full pay, and at the termination of the five years a lump sum of R.800 in payment of passage-money home. The lady-doctor is also by her agreement allowed to undertake private practice, so far as it does not interfere with the special duties she has been engaged to perform. The salaries of the assistant-surgeons and of the hospital-assistants are R.100 and R.20 per month respectively. Dhāis or nurses are also trained at the colleges, and medical aid is rendered to families in their own homes, under the auspices of the Association. As far as I have been able to judge from inquiries instituted in various parts of the country, it appears that the following advantages are resulting from the establishment and extension of Lady Dufferin's Association. The first, and of course the most important, is the saving to an ever-increasing number of poor native women of a great deal of pain and distress; secondly, it will check infanticide; thirdly, it will show such of the natives as are prejudiced against certain English medical institutions on account of their proselytising tendencies, that the sympathy of many English men and women is untainted with sectarian bias; fourthly, as the feelings of the people are carefully regarded, it will not attempt to break down too suddenly what are decidedly objectionable customs; and lastly, to use Lady Dufferin's words, it will teach the men that it is their duty "to give the women dependent upon them relief in

suffering, to save them from a kind of professional aid which is oftentimes destruction, and to introduce into their households those sanitary regulations and that intelligent management of women and children which saves life and promotes good health."

But there is a boon distinct from all these to which reference must be made, although I have some little hesitation in mentioning it here. I mean the field it throws open for the employment of ladies from this country. In addition to the handsome salaries offered by the Association, and possibly some augmentation from private practice, a lady-doctor who resides in India under such auspices would be sure to enjoy an excellent social position, and, moreover—for it is useless to conceal the fact—she would be saved from the prejudice which I frequently heard expressed by our own countrymen against missionaries.

But let me not be misunderstood in this matter. Although I have not hesitated to express disapproval of the means resorted to in some places for making converts by what an English friend called "bribing the poor women with medical aid," I am sure the missions have done, and are still doing, much good in a medical as well as in an educational and moral sense. The religious question will be dealt with in the next chapter. As a set-off against the inducements to English ladies to prepare for and practise medicine in India, there are to be considered the trying climate, the partial alienation from English society, and the contact with people of a different religion and nationality, who are, however, highly appreciative and grateful for benefits conferred upon them. In any case, I would warn ladies, before they select India as a field for professional enterprise, to satisfy themselves fully as to the salary and conditions, which are liable to change, and above all, not to imagine that they can take up the work in the dilettante fashion so common amongst the society young ladies of the present day.[1]

[1] Earnest workers in this cause may take encouragement from Mrs. Scharlieb, M.D., London, whose useful career was narrated in the *Illustrated London News* of May 4, 1889, and who lived and practised some years in India before receiving the honourable appointments which she now holds in that metropolis. If it were not invidious to make a selection, I could name many ladies, both British and native, who are still distinguishing themselves by their medical work in India.

All this has, however, little to do with the hope and promise of the Association; and I must be permitted to repeat that, in its inception and subsequent encouragement, Lady Dufferin used her high position in India not only for the great advantage of the natives, but, although perhaps undesignedly, to cultivate a better understanding between them and their foreign rulers.

# CHAPTER XV.

## THEOLOGICAL—MISSIONARY.

Brief review of Indian sacred history—Idolatry—Signs of disintegration—Universality of idol-worship—(Note: Sir Monier Williams on Hinduism)—Cotton's classification of faiths—The author's impressions—Chief deities—Phallic worship—Its universality—Worship of Hanuman—Cow-worship—Abominations of the cow-temple at Benares—Filthy penances—Consuming the "five products of the cow"—Efforts of reformers—Further illustrations—Hindoos and Christians—Interdicts and caste offences—Social Congress at Allahabad—Author's inquiries and experiences—Changes in Hindoo sentiment—Personal anecdote—Priests in India—Their character and habits—The Kulin Brahmins—Unnatural polygamy—Twelve priests with 652 nominal wives—Statistics of priests and religious mendicants—Missionaries—Rarity of converts—Irish Presbyterian Mission in Gujarat—Baptist Mission at Delhi—The Rev. Thomas Evans on Hindoo stolidity—Depressed tone of missionaries—Complete unfitness of some—Unsuitable methods—"All are invited"—Narrow-minded missionaries—Conversion or hell—A lecture at Lahore—An appeal to the Brahmo-Somaj—Readiness of some Hindoos to accept Christ as another of their gods—Anecdote—*Trop de zèle*—Squabbles amongst Christians—Ritualism—Atheism amongst the English—Refusal to employ converts—Preference for the "uncorrupted article"—The Brahmo-Somaj—Religious views and ceremonies—The Aria-Somaj—Its rapid extension—Influence of the reformers—Small proselytising results of missionary enterprise in India—Statistical abstract—Retrospect—Missionaries generally—Learned and experienced missionaries—Rev. Mr. Elliott of Fyzabad—Oudh—What is really wanted in a religious sense—Straining after conversions—Sham and real conversions—Catholics and Protestants—Past and present services of missionaries—Their claims to support—Higher phases of faith in India—Contact of creeds—Noble moral and intellectual missionary work—Influence on idolatry—Material benefits conferred by missionaries—Action of the Government.

THE historical retrospect in the first part of this treatise contained references to the religious views held at various periods by the supposed aborigines, the Indo-Aryans, the Buddhists, and the Parsees. According to the sacred Brahminical writings, the Dasyus or Nishadas did not worship any deity, but it is more than probable that with them, as with their supposed

descendants, the aborigines of to-day, and for that matter the modern Hindoos, demonolatry, or at least the conciliation of demons, was a prominent feature of their creed. The Aryans brought with them into India a religion which combined the ancient Jewish faith with that of the Scandinavians. It is not essential that we should inquire further whether Indra, Varuña, Agni, and other personages, were various manifestations of one god, or whether they were worshipped as distinct deities; what we know is that they gradually gave place to the Triad or Trinity—Brahma, the creator (of whom we hear little now-a-days), Vishnu, the preserver, and Siva, the destroyer and reproducer. We know that, whether or not the creed of the ancient Hindoos was polytheistic, their conception of their deity or deities embraced many divine and noble attributes; that their religious system was at first comparatively pure and disinterested, but that it gradually assumed a sordid and mercenary character; that the Brahmins, whilst they represented the intelligence of the nation, multiplied ceremonies for their own ends, and that some of them became so dissolute that ascetic regulations, such as those of the Buddhists, were necessary to check their excesses. We have seen, too, how their religion permeated their whole social system, the priest being the prominent actor in every event of life, from the cradle to the grave. Of the vitality of their faith there cannot be the slightest doubt—Persians, Greeks, Mohammedans, Christians of various denominations have in turn tried to convert the "heathen," but until quite recently there has been no sign of disintegration, and even now it is proceeding from within rather than from without.

In connection with different subjects which have been discussed in these pages, I have pointed out that the whole nation wallows in idolatry.[1] Orthodox Hindoos and Buddhists are

[1] In his interesting work, "Modern India and the Indians," p. 355, Sir Monier Williams condemns such sweeping assertions as the one I have here made, and says of Hinduism that "we under-estimate its comprehensiveness, its super-subtlety, its hydra-like vitality." That has not been the case here. He shows (p. 360) in how many excellent qualities, the most prominent being courtesy, temperance, filial obedience, submission to their "spiritual pastors" and masters, tenderness towards animal life and religious toleration, the Hindoos excel, in which indeed "they may possibly be our equals, if not our superiors." These

grass worshippers of images, however exalted and spiritual the creed of some of their priests and pandits may be; the priesthood as a body are superstitious, as also are the lower classes, unless it be conceded that the former are rank impostors; some of their "religious" customs, so called, are filthy and repugnant to common-sense and decency, and, as I have shown, even the enlightened Parsees have preserved some of those practices; theists though they be, they in some instances worship in the Hindoo temples. To gloss over the idolatrous practices of the Hindoos; to invest them with romance, or to venerate them for their antiquity, is neither fair to the nation nor reverent to the Almighty.

It is very difficult for a stranger to make himself fully acquainted with the Hindoo Pantheon of to-day, and, from conversations which I had with enlightened Hindoos in various parts of India, I don't think they themselves could give a trustworthy account of it, or one free from contradictions or obscurities. Perhaps, for the purposes of this treatise, it may be as well to adopt the general description given by Mr. Cotton in his work on "New India."[1] He says that, "for practical purposes," "there are five well-known sects: those who worship, 1st, Surya, the sun; 2nd, Ganes (Ganesh), the benignant lord over the evil powers; 3rd, Siva, the god of either destruction or asceticism; 4th, Vishnu, the god of preservation; 5th, Sakti, the goddess of force, . . . but the worshippers of Vishnu, or Vaishnavas, as they are called, constitute the great bulk of the community."

I am rather disposed to think, however, that the word "practical" here can hardly mean "in practice," for to me it appears that in actual worship the deities who hold the highest place in their affections under different designations are Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu (the eighth, I believe), and his wife Radha, who was a milkmaid, or, to be strictly accurate, a milk-wife, for she was married, but was taken by

statements are perfectly correct, and they afford another illustration of the truism that most men are better than their creed. The priests strike off the head of a poor innocent kid and offer its blood to their fierce goddess, whilst the people abstain from flesh meat and forbid the killing of animals. As to the "spiritual" pastors, *some* of them are the most loathsome human beings in existence.

[1] "New India, or India in Transition," p. 167, by H. J. S. Cotton. Kegan Paul.

Krishna—quite a Hellenic myth; Siva, the destroyer and reproducer, and along with him the so-called phallic linga, the emblem of the male generative process, usually combined with the yoni, or female generative emblem. Not only are there temples dedicated to the worship of these last-named "ideas" (Plate VII.), in which the "lingam," as it is called, is present surmounted by a crown, but small models of the emblems themselves in alabaster, agate, slate, and glass are sold in the bazaars, especially in holy places, such as Benares. In other cases, as at the marble rocks of Jubbulpore, they are offered for sale in the form of an egg; but, in one shape or another, these strange emblems of reproductive power—which no one would understand unless the meaning was explained—are visible all over India, and are almost universally, although I know from personal observation, in some cases ignorantly, worshipped by the natives.[1]

But after all, I question whether Hanuman, the monkey-god, does not hold his own against every other member of the Hindoo Pantheon. He takes all kinds of shapes, one more hideous than another, has temples crowded with monkeys, and his priests and acolytes present a most edifying spectacle as they sit in a row with their besmirched faces (Plate XX.). His graven image meets one at every turn, and his monstrous form is daubed upon sheets of waste paper and sold in the bazaars to the lowest ranks of Hindoo worshippers. Either at Lahore or Lucknow, I forget which, I bought one of the last-named works of religious art for an anna; it was painted on the back of a police-sheet with the ominous heading "Recommended for Punishment," and the ugly monster was depicted in glaring red, yellow, blue, and green colours. As I have already shown, Hanuman is worshipped from Tibet

[1] There are three or four of these emblems formed of stone conspicuously placed in the caves of Elephanta, near Bombay.

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PRIESTS OF THE MONKEY TEMPLE, AJODHYA.

to Tattvam, and although the legends connected with him are of interest to anthropologists, I should like to know how his worship can be anything but degrading and superstitious?

But perhaps the most nauseous features of Hindoo worship are those associated with the useful and gentle domestic animal the cow. In our historical record we found that the earliest known inhabitants of India reverenced that animal, and that to-day amongst the aborigines, the cow and the cow-bell have become objects of worship. The perversion of this traditional reverence for the cow in a pastoral community has perpetuated, and in all probability exaggerated some of the filthiest customs and ceremonies connected with the Hindoo faith, and I am constrained to refer to them at some length because they constitute one of the most serious obstacles to the progress of civilisation in India. Take as an example one of the "cow-temples," namely, that of Annapurna in Benares, which centres within its walls many of these practices. It stands in a large courtyard, and contains four celebrated shrines dedicated to different gods, including the inevitable Hanuman and the elephant-god Ganesh. Within the temple there are several bulls which are fed upon garlands of flowers, given to them by worshippers. The latter move about amongst the animals on the temple floor, whilst visitors are permitted to stand on a raised platform covered with filth. Whilst I was there a priest was perambulating with a huge bull, of which the great charm seemed to be two enormous tumours hanging from his eyes. He was the centre of attraction for about as filthy and degraded a set of mendicants as I ever beheld; and these are not found inside the temple only, but they swarm about the entrance. To this temple many pilgrims resort, frequently for the purpose of performing penance, and this penance is so repulsive and tyrannical that it is becoming a subject of angry controversy in the ranks of even orthodox Hindoos. If an orthodox member of any caste (or at least of the higher castes) travels over sea, say to study or attend to business in England, he is excluded from his caste, and should he remain outside on his return, his life is simply intolerable. He is not only boycotted by his caste-fellows, but his parents and relatives may not recognise him; no one will marry or associate with his chil-

dren, if he have any—in fact, he is a pariah, excommunicated. To be re-admitted to caste, if that be allowed on any terms, he must perform various acts of penance, must pay a large sum of money, and provide food for a crowd of hungry Brahmins; must make a pilgrimage to some temple or shrine; and must "consume the five products of the cow," two of which are its urine and its solid excrements. Such a sentence upon a man of refinement and education is horrible, and yet it is constantly submitted to with patience in order to avoid excommunication. Efforts are being made by certain recently-established native societies, especially by the Kayastha, or writers' caste, to break down these nauseous and oppressive customs, and at the Social Congress at Allahabad, which was held simultaneously with the National Congress, and at which I was present, delegates from various parts of India reported the progress of the reform. From their statements it would appear that, although their prospects are disheartening, they are determined to break down the system, which is backed up by the orthodox pandits, who declare, whenever an appeal is made to them, that it is contrary to the "Shastras" to travel over sea and associate with Christians. Some of my readers may perhaps imagine that such penances are exceptional or their character exaggerated, but the very reverse is the case. During my stay in India I had ample opportunities of testing their authenticity, and found that the sentences were becoming more severe than formerly. In one town I heard of an educated native who had been subjected to the filthy penance because he had assisted at an English public dinner, and the *Bombay Gazette* of November 8, 1888, published an account of a case which exceeded in severity any that came under my notice. The medical adviser of one of the native princes, a highly qualified practitioner, whose name was given, had in the performance of his duty accompanied his employer to England, and on his return, notwithstanding the intercession of many leading orthodox Hindoos, he was punished by a decree of his caste "to pay a fine of R.2880, in addition to shaving his moustache clean, *partaking of the five products of the cow*, and making a pilgrimage to Nasik or Gaya, two of the holiest Indian shrines."

The reason why the orthodox Hindoo must not visit the

West is because "he incurs the suspicion of nine caste offences: (1) Sleeping in the same bed with a Maleksh (Malichh, an unclean race); (2) sitting with him; (3) eating in his company; (4) drinking water in his glass; (5) allowing him to touch his food; (6) worshipping together; (7) reading together; (8) intermarrying with him; (9) travelling in the same conveyance with him, and breathing the same atmosphere."[1]

Nor is this mere theory; and to show how largely the natives themselves are to blame for the exclusiveness of the English, of which some of them complain so bitterly, I will give a personal experience. At —— in British territory, I was the guest of a wealthy Hindoo merchant—that is to say, he placed a beautiful bungalow, with board, servants, and carriage, at my disposal, and called upon me. A native official of high standing was my constant guide and companion, and he dropped in more than once whilst I was taking my solitary meal. As I was aware that he would not eat cooked food with me, and probably not flesh meat at all, I invited him one day to take some fruit, but he declined, on the ground that it was forbidden. "What!" I said, "to eat fruit?" "No," he replied, "but if it were to get talked about that I have eaten with a Christian, it might cause me to be outcasted." And this gentleman, I must add, talked rationalism and called himself a reformer. At Allahabad I met in consultation educated natives of the highest respectability from every part of the Madras Presidency,[2] and this subject was one, amongst others, on which I sought information. I was told that the noxious customs were being gradually discontinued, but from what I heard I fear it will be long before so desirable an end is attained. One delegate boasted as a great reform of the fact that "a person who had visited Rangoon had been quietly allowed to return to society." Another said that there was no instance of a Brahmin being re-admitted

[1] Report of the Sixth Anniversary of the Kashmiri National Club, p. 9. Lucknow: G. P. Varma & Bros. 1887.

[2] From the city of Madras, Chingleput, North and South Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevelly, Coimbatore, Malabar, Canara, the Neilgherries, Vizagapatam, Godavery, and seven or eight other districts, besides Secunderabad-Deccan, &c.

on any terms whatever. They would be very glad to perform the usual penance. "The recreants," said a third, "always become Christians." They might do worse.

It is to be hoped that, with the spread of education and the increasing need of employment for the higher classes of Hindoos—for in India, as everywhere else, £ *s. d.* is the primary consideration—there will be a greater determination on their part to visit this country, and that with increased numbers of "recreants," the work of the reformers may be lightened.

Already there is marked evidence of the breaking up of idolatry in India. In the chapter on the women of India it was mentioned that the girls in schools ridicule the idolatrous customs, and call them "the old ways;" and amongst men the same signs are becoming apparent. How is it possible that shrewd Hindoos, who read English and German works, and who are constantly associating with Englishmen, should regard with equanimity, or with other than a feeling of shame, such practices as I have here only briefly referred to, but which in one form or another pollute native society? Some break away from their religion and join the Brahmo- or Aria-Somaj; others remain nominally orthodox, but laugh at the customs of orthodoxy; whilst others again are waiting for the decease of their older relatives, who adhere to the objectionable practices and the old worship, to proclaim their independence. Here is an illustration, which might be multiplied indefinitely. Whilst I was driving out in the neighbourhood of —— with a young Hindoo merchant, we passed a tree on which a wreath of yellow flowers was suspended, when the following dialogue took place:—

"What is the meaning of the yellow wreath hanging on that tree?"

"Oh, they worship all kinds of things—trees, images, everything." (A laugh.)

"What are you?"

"A Brahmin."

"Then don't you worship images?"

"No; my father does?"

"Are those superstitions dying out?"

"Yes, daily."

But the priests will make a hard fight for their dogmas and their supremacy. In India they are very much *en evidence*. They swarm wherever you go. Here they sit mumbling the word "Ram," and counting the beads of their rosary, which, along with one hand, is concealed in the "praying-stocking," so that no demon may get at the sacred object, nor suspect what the devotee is doing. There they are lying listlessly upon some wooden bench waiting for the benefactions of the faithful. In this temple you find them keeping guard over the idols; in that they are intoning verses from the Ramayana or some other Hindoo legend. Of the morals of some of them I have little inclination to say more. They are often lewd and debauched, and in some parts of India they allow themselves to be used, for a valuable consideration, as mock husbands for young Hindoo girls.

"The Kulin Brahmin," says a native paper, "is a polygamist *à outrance*, who simply marries the girl who is brought to him by her parents, after receiving the marriage dowry, and then decamps, or at all events in most cases does so, to pastures new, taking the dowry with him. A writer in *The Hindu* gives a table showing twelve Kulin Brahmins, the youngest of whom was forty and the eldest seventy, who had between them no less than 652 wives. One of these gentlemen had eighty wives, and the rest a smaller number, whilst the person least blessed with 'better halves'—or rather pieces—was one Thil Chunder Mookerjee, who had forty wives." And this sort of thing is allowed to continue in Bengal, our chief Presidency! Interference with religious worship or opinions is one thing, but the toleration of polygamy—and such polygamy—is another.

In 1881 there were in British India alone 586,041 "clergymen, ministers, priests, and church and temple officers," and 90,212 women of the same professions. The return compels me to include Christian ministers, but their number is comparatively trifling.[1] But in addition to this immense number, of

[1] Statistical Abstract of British India, 1883. The return is somewhat carelessly and incorrectly compiled.

whom many are drones and mendicants, over forty millions of men are returned as "of no stated occupation," and a considerable proportion of this undescribed residuum may be taken to belong to the class of religious mendicants.

It will no doubt be urged that in the preceding account of the state of religion and priesthood I have overlooked much that is to be placed to their credit, but my chief object has been to lay before my readers a statement of the unfavourable conditions under which Christian missionaries and native reformers have to carry on their work; and now, in judging of the success or failure of their efforts, I will endeavour in the first instance, as far as possible, to let them speak for themselves.

In the report of the Irish Presbyterian Mission in Guzarat and Kathiawar for 1887,[1] the reporters tell us that their first missionaries put their foot on Indian soil in 1841, that is, nearly half a century ago; "yet we cannot congratulate ourselves on having even now begun to win the victory, so vast are the numbers which in these provinces are still arrayed on the side of heathenism." . . . "Much work has been carried on last year, which, as far as human eyes can see, resulted in no fruit; hundreds of villages were visited, and Christ's Word preached, and Scripture portions distributed without apparently a single conversion as the result." Indeed, in consequence of the action of the Salvation Army, which took away many of their members from them and from Christianity, the missionaries say: "Under these circumstances, it has been our sad duty—a duty we have performed with heavy hearts—to strike off from the roll of Church membership the names of some who were formerly counted on our lists."

This is the published record of what I found, from personal observation and universal report, to be one of the best missions in India. The schools were flourishing, and the attendance was on the increase.

The report of the Baptist Mission at Delhi is still more discouraging, and in this case the reporter seems to suspect something wrong in the Divine government. After speaking of the high price of "dall," on which the children are fed, she (for it is a lady) goes on to say: "He whose work it is has given us

[1] Surat Irish Presbyterian Mission Press, 1888.

strength and money sufficient for our needs. It is most singular to me that while our Father so manifestly helps us in our work—granting progress, loosening bonds, lessening prejudice, yet our strongest desire, the revelation of His Son as their Saviour to the hearts of the people, comes not in any great number. Why is it?"

Other reports couched in similar language might be quoted, but perhaps the most outspoken utterance on the subject is that of the Rev. Thomas Evans, a well-known missionary of the Baptist denomination of thirty years' standing, recently pensioned, and his views are all the more impressive because they were given in connection with an entirely different subject. Whilst he was lecturing to the Ootacamund Young Men's Christian Association in September 1887 on "The Mutiny of the Bengal Army in 1857, considered from a Christian standpoint," he said, concerning the origin of the mutiny: "Another opinion was that the sepoys had taken fright at the spread of the Gospel in India, and that the missionaries were at the bottom of the mischief." This he denied, saying that it was the attempt on the part of the authorities to force the Hindoos to break their caste; for, he adds: "Missionaries may preach and pray as long as they please, they may plead and persuade to their hearts' content, and the ritualistic Hindoo will remain as stolid as a stone."

No doubt I shall be told that the great body of missionaries in India must not be held responsible for the utterances of a few, but I am bound to say that, although there may not be many whose candour or indiscretion makes them so outspoken as those here quoted, the general tone of a great many of the missionaries, when one converses with them, is more or less depressing; they talk of the educational and moral reforms which they are bringing about as "negative good," and are always anxious to impress upon the inquirer—I am sure in all sincerity—that their ultimate aim is conversion to the true faith. I could not help feeling, however, as the result of numerous conversations, that in different degrees they themselves experience a sense of disappointment, if not of absolute failure; but they do not seem to be at all conscious of the

causes of their want of success in what they conceive to be their most important function.

In many cases the men, in others their methods, and frequently both, are ill fitted to win converts from the Hindoo to the Christian faith. I have met with missionaries whose Christian life and example, whose sympathy with the natives and consideration for their difficulties, win their hearts and convince them of the errors of idolatry and the superiority of the religion of civilised nations; but too frequently they are querulous, bigoted, ignorant, and narrow-minded in their utterances—men and women totally unfit for the changed condition in which they find themselves. In some cases the means employed are ill adapted to the surroundings. Imagine yourself, reader, taking a walk in the neighbourhood of Lucknow. All about you is strange and alien to European habits. Natives glide past you who cannot understand a word of English; men whose ideas of religion have from earliest childhood been limited to a visit to the temple of their particular deity; who go in, prostrate themselves before his graven image, leave their offering, ring a bell, and depart, probably feeling much better for the ceremony; men who know that if they fail to comply with the iron rules of caste and religion they may as well go and bury themselves alive. These, you know, are the heathen whom the missionaries have to win over from their idolatry to "Christ and Him crucified." All at once you find yourself before the neat place of worship where the Word is preached that is to accomplish the salvation of the ignorant, benighted Hindoo, and you read upon a large black board, just as it might be in the street of some English town—

HINDUSTANI METHODIST CHURCH.

Hours of Service, &c., &c.

*All are invited.*

Who are "all"? I presume they are the half-naked heathens who don't understand a word of English.

Then you come across a little parson in severe clerical costume, with black cloth coat and white necktie, who drives up

jauntily in his carriage to inspect the erection of his church or chapel, and he button-holes you and asks you for a subscription to the building-fund. Conversing with him, you hear the most violent anti-native diatribes; you are told that the members of the reformed Hindoo faith are the worst enemies of Christianity, &c. &c. It is of little moment to such a narrow-minded sectarian that these men are breaking through caste, combating priestcraft and superstitions which he could not touch, even if he understood them. They don't belong to his particular creed—that is enough for him.

Occasionally even the best and most successful missionaries fail to appreciate their own difficulties, and what they regard as their strongest point in dealing with educated men really becomes their weakest. At Lahore I went to hear a lecture in the "Rung Mahal," in the native city, by the Rev. J. M. Forman, B.A., son of the venerable and venerated American missionary of whom I have already spoken, and who was also present on the occasion. The subject was "Our Possibilities," but it turned out to be a controversial proselytising sermon to an audience consisting almost entirely of well-educated Hindoo or Brahmo-Somaj College students of advanced age. The lecture or sermon was one that might have been delivered to an audience of corner-men in England, the alternative placed before his hearers being salvation through the blood of the Saviour, or, as he delicately put it, "being eternally imprisoned." The subject and the mode of its introduction both seemed to me calculated to repel rather than to attract converts, for to the "recreant" Hindoo it would suggest a human sacrifice to appease an angry and vindictive Deity. But after the lecture was delivered the father spoke in a much more generous and winning tone. His manner as a missionary and a friend solicitous for the welfare of his audience was perfect, and no one could listen to him but with the highest regard and reverence. But what was the nature of his appeal? Aware that he was addressing an audience consisting chiefly of Brahmos, who, discarding idolatry, had become theists, he said in the course of his remarks:—"Our Brahmo-Somaj friends believe in God the Father and in His Holy Spirit; they believe, too, in Christ as a great teacher—so you see they believe in five-sixths of what we believe.

Now, all we ask is that they should believe in the other sixth, that is to say, that Christ is God." Immediately afterwards he entered into an elaborate defence of Christianity, beseeching them not to think ill of the Christian faith because there were men calling themselves Christians "who go about drinking and swearing."

I have not cited this incident as in any way reflecting upon the good intentions, and, from his point of view, sincerity and truth of the best of missionaries; but he had, in addressing what I could see was a shrewd, argumentative audience, unwittingly misstated their creed. The Brahmo-Somaj or reformed Hindoos draw no distinction between the Almighty and His Holy Spirit, and, as a rule, they fail to see any difference between a belief in the incarnations of Vishnu, a faith which they have discarded, although it has formed part of their whole intellectual and spiritual nature, and in that of Jesus Christ as the incarnation of the Almighty. Amongst Hindoos "in transition," and even men calling themselves orthodox, I found a few who showed a remarkable willingness to believe in Christ as God, but only as another member of their already overcrowded Pantheon![1] As regards the "drinking and swearing," the Hindoos who do neither must find it hard to pin their faith to a religion which promises salvation hereafter, but is unable even here to control the vices and passions of its votaries.

One other example of missionary methods, and then we must pass on to the dissensions amongst Christians themselves, which militate strongly against the success of their efforts. It will be remembered that I referred to a Hindoo official who refused to eat fruit with me. Well, he appeared to be a particular object of solicitude with the missionaries. One morning I was in his office, waiting for him to read his letters before starting on our round of visits to public institutions, when he handed me one of them which he had received from

[1] Sir William Hunter, who is perhaps better acquainted with India than any other writer, says in his "England's Work in India" (Smith, Elder, 1881, p. 48), "To the natives the missionary seems to be a charitable Englishman, who keeps an excellent cheap school, speaks the language well, *preaches a European form of their old incarnations*, and drives out his wife and little ones in a pony-carriage." "This," says the writer, "is not the traditional type to which the popular preacher in India must conform."

a Church of England missionary, accompanying the act with a smile and an exclamation. The latter I will reserve until the reader has seen the letter.

"MISSION HOUSE."
(*Place and date.*)

"DEAR MR. ———,

"Anxiety for your welfare, and desire for the extension of Christ's kingdom, constrain me to send you another message from the Word of God. Pray, pay good heed to it. The statement is not mine, but God's. Christ has said, 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall never pass away.' See that ye refuse not Him that speaketh, for how shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation?[1]—Yours sincerely, ———."

The message referred to was on a card with a thin black border:—

"There is *one God*, and one Mediator between God and man, the MAN CHRIST JESUS, Who gave Himself a ransom for us all."—1 Tim. ii. 5, 6.

"The SON OF MAN came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a *Ransom* for many."—Matt. xx. 28.

(The words italicised are in capitals of clarendon type.)

This letter, be it remembered, was sent to a gentleman who could not bring himself even to eat fruit with me, notwithstanding that his refusal violated the most conspicuous quality of the Hindoo, courtesy, which he possessed in an eminent degree, but he was expected to change his faith, to become a pariah amongst his fellow-countrymen, and to escape eternal torments by adopting the belief that Jesus Christ is God, on the assurance that there is "One God," and that the "Man Christ Jesus gave Himself a ransom for us all." It is more than probable that the recipient of the letter, besides having mastered every phase of the Hindoo and Brahmo faiths and their literature, knew just as much of the Bible as the

[1] I found throughout India (and I lost no opportunity to hear the sermons of preachers of different denominations) that the alternative openly held out to the Hindoos by most of the missionaries was conversion or hell.

well-meaning clergyman who was addressing him. "Surely," he said, "that man must be insane; he has written me twice or three times already."

In speaking of the excellent mission at Ahmedabad, it was mentioned that the Salvation Army had partially broken up a Christian community there. But ill-will exists not alone between the older denominations and this latest development of Christianity, but between the former amongst themselves. At ——, I asked a Protestant missionary to explain to me how it is that the Roman Catholics are so much more successful (as they undoubtedly are) in making converts to Christianity than are the Protestants, and I was met by the indignant rejoinder, "Do you call that Christianity? Why, it is as bad as heathenism itself!"

But we may go still further. At Lahore, a Protestant dissenting missionary urged me to attend the service at the cathedral. I should there see what obstacles are thrown in the way of conversion. Following his advice, I found the congregation to consist almost entirely of English residents, with a small sprinkling of dark school-children. I don't understand the various ritualistic questions which are at present agitating the Church of England, but if my ears had been closed, and I had been told that I was attending mass, I should have believed the statement implicitly. A lady and gentleman sitting not far from me got up in the middle of the service and left the place, with faces expressing strong disapprobation.

Besides the obduracy of the Hindoos, the inefficiency of some of the missionaries or of their methods, and the differences which exist amongst them, there are two other causes which militate against the progress of Christianity. One is the fact that a large number of Englishmen in India are avowed atheists or agnostics; and the other, which appears to me the most serious of all, that very many Englishmen absolutely refuse to take a native Christian into their employ, infinitely preferring what I have heard them call "the uncorrupted article." This is easily explained by the fact that a certain proportion of the converts belong to the worst type of Hindoo. But be that as it may, whatever may be thought of all my

other statements and views, I am sure it will be admitted that these facts are notorious; and furthermore, I have heard it many times repeated by the missionaries that their worst opponents, or, as they say, "detractors," are their own countrymen.

Something has been said about the Brahmo-Somaj, and a few words concerning these reformers, as well as the Aria-Somaj, may be appropriate in this place.

The first-named are divided into three branches or schisms. One of these, by far the smallest section, consists of quasi-Trinitarians; the second believe Christ to have been a great man; and the third are pure theists who respect Christianity. Probably the differences between them are more apparent than real, for they are trying to reunite into one body, and there is no reason why they should not do so, for very similar differences of opinion prevail amongst the Unitarians of this country. Meanwhile, although their direct influence is diminishing through their schisms, their ideas are steadily permeating enlightened Hinduism. Orthodox Hindoos occasionally attend Brahmo-worship, and, on the other hand, many Brahmos adhere to Hindoo customs and attend Hindoo festivals. The Brahmo-Somaj have *mandirs* or temples somewhat resembling our chapels, with vocal music, and in some cases an organ. They have prayers, invocations, exposition of Hindoo and Christian texts, and religious discourses. The Aria-Somaj are pure theists; they are not so friendly as the Brahmo towards Christianity, but I could not quite make out whether this referred to orthodox Christianity or to the creed generally. They consider the Vedas infallible; adhere to old Vedic customs, but are opposed to image-worship. I question very much whether theirs is not after all the most orthodox, that is to say, the nearest approximation to the early Vedic faith, a parallel to the modern Hebrew faith amongst Western races; but of this I would speak with the utmost diffidence, for my time was too much taken up with practical inquiries to leave any for speculative theology. The ranks of the Aria-Somaj are swelling rapidly in Sind and the Punjab, and I cannot help thinking that the influence of these two sects of Hindoo reformers is much greater for the suppression or aban-

donment of idol-worship and idolatrous practices than is that of Christianity.

As regards the sum total of missionary effort in India, it dates back at least 1600 years; it has benefited by the brilliant career of St. Francis Xavier and by the labours of many well-known devoted monks and ecclesiastics. Bernier showed that under the Mughal emperors it was in full operation, and yet not one per cent. of the whole population of India are Christians. Here are the figures, taken from the last "Statistical Abstract:"—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hindoos . . . . . | | 188,000,000 |
| Mohammedans . . . . . | | 50,000,000 |
| Buddhists . . . . . | | 3,400,000 |
| Christians:— | | |
| Church of Rome . . . | 963,059 | |
| Church of England . . | 353,712 | |
| Church of Scotland and Protestant Dissenters | 180,511 | |
| Others not specified . . | 365,236 | |
| | | 1,862,517 |

And we may be quite sure that every one who could be claimed as a Christian has been so returned.

Now I have endeavoured as far as I could to place impartially before my readers either facts or opinions on which I could rely concerning the religious condition of the common people and the state of missionary enterprise in our great dependency. Many will no doubt object to the selections which have been made as pessimistic either in regard to the idolatry of the natives or the deficiencies of those who desire to convert them. That is a matter of judgment on which every one is at liberty to form his own opinion. It would have been much pleasanter to me to speak in the same laudatory terms of the religious as I have done of the moral and educational influence of missionary enterprise, but I have been unable to do so after a careful survey of the whole question, in which I have done my best to place myself outside the limits of the controversy. To sum up as briefly as possible, the following are my general impressions. In the first place, taking them as a body, the missionaries, to use a vulgar phrase,

undoubtedly "take things easy," and, so far as personal comfort is concerned, there is not the least necessity for their friends at home to deplore the fate of those who are banished to "the realms of pagan darkness." In that respect the dark pagans have decidedly the worst of the bargain. Then many of them are unfitted for their work either by education or training, and the more ignorant they are, the higher is their estimate of their own infallibility, and the more dogmatic and intolerant their language. I found the most successful missionaries to be men who had long and earnestly studied the faith and doctrines of those amongst whom their lot had been cast, and who understand and sympathise with their difficulties and national aspirations. I met with a fair proportion of such workers and thinkers in different parts of the country, and one of them, the Rev. Mr. Elliott, Wesleyan missionary, Fyzabad, Oudh, astonished me by his familiarity with Hindoo customs, his extended knowledge of the beliefs and sacred history of the people, and the friendly footing on which his genial disposition placed him with the natives. He is in no way responsible for my views and opinions, but I obtained a clearer insight into many matters of interest connected with Hinduism and Christianity in the course of a day's excursion with him to Ajodhya (the reputed birthplace of Rama), than from many other interviews with native theologians or Christian missionaries. It appears to me that what are wanted in India are not ignorant men, who think they can storm the citadel of idolatry with Scripture texts and threats of eternal damnation, but educated gentlemen, who will not consider it beneath them to associate on terms of equality, and to co-operate with enlightened Hindoo reformers; who are willing to learn as well as to instruct. Another obvious defect, patent to me at least, is the constant straining after conversions. The Catholics, whilst they have always avoided anything like compulsion, manifest a greater spirit of self-denial and self-sacrifice than the Protestants, especially the female devotees, and hence their comparatively greater success. There are many Protestant missionaries who would sooner administer the rite of baptism to one heathen than in the broader sense Christianise a score. It is the old tale of compassing sea and land to make one

proselyte. For this, however, they are not alone to blame; reports of conversions must be sent home regularly to satisfy the parent institution, or there is sure to be grumbling and "inquiry." This is one reason why I have hesitated to express my views on the subject with frankness, for I fear that the adverse criticisms which are at present directed against the missionaries by persons who only look at the number and cost of conversions will be met by additions to the list of nominal converts. After all, the missionaries have done, and are doing, a noble work in India, and they should remember that any form of Christianity is preferable to the dark idolatrous practices which overshadow the land; and so Catholics and Protestants should work in harmony. They should remember, too, that it has pleased Providence to bring into existence and encourage the beliefs upon which the happiness of a great portion of the human race depended long before Christianity was dreamt of, and that in one form or another those beliefs survive, and are even extending their influence. It is just within the bounds of possibility, therefore, that Christianity, which, like all other faiths, has in some respects degenerated, may not cover the whole truth, and that its professors may find a little that comes under that much-abused designation in the higher aspects of Buddhism, or even Hinduism. To me it has always appeared likely that the contact of the various creeds of the world in India is providentially ordained for the correction and expansion of theological knowledge. One thing is quite certain, namely, that the Hindoos pay far more regard to the life and conduct than they do to the teachings of the missionaries.

Concerning the moral and educational work of the last-named, to which full justice was done in a former chapter, there is only one opinion. Their presence is welcomed by every class and denomination, and those Englishmen who desire to see superstition uprooted, the filth and abominations of idolatry swept away, and the people Christianised in life and character, if not in name, will best secure those ends by continuing to extend a judicious measure of help to the missionaries of the country. Their failure to baptize can do no harm; their success as Christianisers is indisputable.

A word in conclusion. It is impossible in a chapter devoted chiefly to the religious aspect of the missionary question to do full justice to the labours of the different societies in a material sense, but the following account, taken from an official source, gives an idea of the work done by them amongst the aborigines:—

"In 1880 the Indian Home Mission to the Santals, after prospecting the neighbourhood of Guma Dwar in the Goalpara district of Assam, took twenty Santals there as pioneers to build sheds for the coming settlers. At the beginning of 1881, 220 Santals started, and after surmounting many difficulties, they have established nine villages, with a population of some 700 persons. They maintain their own village system, they settle their differences amongst themselves, and are all now well-to-do. The success of the movement is due to the fact that it has been led and supervised by practical Europeans of the Mission, who possessed the confidence of the Santals. Government has also assisted by defraying the travelling expenses of the emigrants from the Santal parganas" (districts) "to Guma Dwar, and by granting advances free of interest to the settlers until they could reap a crop of their own."

The action of the Indian Government in this and similar cases has been beneficent as well as politic, and the efforts of the Mission to improve the material condition of the aborigines are above all praise.

# CHAPTER XVI.

## JUDICIAL—CRIMINAL.

The "Ilbert Bill"—Efficiency of native judges—Testimony of Lord Selborne and others—Treatment of the subject—Native views of English justice—The author's impressions of English and of native judges—Disproportion of salaries—Native court at Ahmedabad—Account of a civil trial—The author's conclusions—Mr. Clifford's court at Delhi—Its humorous phases—The Kanchan or prostitute caste—Recital of a judgment concerning them—Their constitution and customs—The thief caste—A union of black-mailers—Anecdote—Native pleaders—Their character—A conceited pleader—The "Comic Blackstone"—The High Court at Calcutta—English and native advocates and pleaders—The criminal classes of India—Statistical comparison with those of England—Female prisoners—Burman "Dacoits"—Bombay House of Correction—Its poor character—A "good old Tory" governor—Model gaol at Baroda—Compared with Pentonville—Statistics of male and female prisoners—Husband-poisoners—Treatment of the prisoners—An enlightened native governor—Model prison at Agra—Description of prisoners—Incarcerated for "making war" in Burma—The royal proclamation of 1857—Annexation of Burma—Opinion of an American writer—The David Sassoon Reformatory at Bombay—A most beneficent institution—Various industries practised—Drink and crime—Mr. Caine's work—Drinking in the "holy city" of Benares—Teetotal revelations—Government and the drink traffic—The author's investigations and conclusions.

It will be within the recollection of my readers that about six years ago there was considerable agitation in India concerning what was known as the "Ilbert Bill," one of the objects of which was to extend the jurisdiction of native judges over European British subjects, but, without reading the contemporary records, no one can form the least idea of the outburst of passion and animosity that was displayed by the Anglo-Indians against the native community. It was stated at the time, in a despatch from the Indian Government to the British Secretary of State, that the bitter hostility of the Anglo-Indians was directed, not so much against the Bill

itself as against the principle that no subject of the Queen in India should be disqualified by religion, place of birth, descent, or colour from holding any office under the Crown.[1] In the opinion of the Anglo-Indians, it was a blow struck at British supremacy in India. In favour of the fitness of some of the natives to hold high judicial offices (and they now hold the very highest) this despatch quoted the authority of Lord Cranbrook, Sir Richard Temple, and even of Lord Selborne, who said that during the years when he practised in Indian cases before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, "the judgments of the native judges bore most favourable comparison, as a general rule, with the judgments of English judges." In order to mollify its bitterest opponents, some modifications were made in the Bill, the agitation subsided, and I heard no complaints of any ill effects of the measure upon the administration of justice.

It is not my intention in this chapter to discuss the system of jurisprudence in India, but, bearing the above agitation in mind, I made a point of visiting several courts, from the High Court at Calcutta down to the police court at Bombay, and I sat through many cases whilst they were being tried by native as well as English judges of different grades in the Mofussil. What I propose to do is to endeavour, in the limited space at my disposal, to give the reader an idea of the mode in which justice is administered, and of the kind of cases that the judges and magistrates are called upon to try. Subsequently, if he cares to visit with me three or four of the gaols of the country, he will be able to form some estimate of the character and treatment of the criminal classes of India. As I have already said in a previous chapter, there appeared to me to be complete confidence on the part of the natives in the administration of justice by Englishmen, and making allowance for the natural politeness of the natives, which leads them to say what they think will please a visitor, they seem in some places to prefer the decisions of our judges to those of their own countrymen. As far as my memory and a refer-

1 For this despatch and the leading features of the controversy the reader is referred to the Blue Book, "East India: Jurisdiction of Natives over European British Subjects," c. 3592, 1884.

ence to printed documents serve me, few if any of the English officials who sit in the Mofussil as judges, deputy commissioners, collectors, and magistrates, to adjudicate on civil and criminal cases, have been called to the bar; but, from conversations I have had with them, and watching their conduct in court, they have impressed me as being high-minded, honourable, and impartial men, who have no personal interest in the cases that are brought before them, and feel a pride in being independent and in giving equitable decisions. As exceptions to this general statement, arising out of the union in the same official of both judicial and executive functions,[1] some cases of tyranny and miscarriage of justice occur from time to time, especially in outlying districts, and those are amongst the grievances justly complained of by the Indian National Congress. In their general conduct, however, the British officials set an admirable example to the natives who hold appointments under them, and whose chief defects seemed to me to be a certain amount of indecision, and perhaps some tendency to take a partial view of cases that are brought before them; the latter probably arises from their previous occupation as pleaders. There can be no doubt, however, that the native judges understand the ways of their countrymen better than the English. Of this the reader had a striking example at Behéea, where dubious cases are referred by the English gentleman fulfilling the position of a petty judge or magistrate to two or three native arbitrators.[2]

As in the medical department, so, too, the native officials of the law courts appear to be underpaid in comparison with the English. In neither case was any complaint made to me personally, but the disproportion more than once struck me as being likely to lead to corrupt practices, as well as to militate against a good understanding between the natives and their foreign rulers. At Ahmedabad, for example, where the acting

[1] Speaking at Liverpool, October 24, 1889, Mr. Arthur P. Forwood, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, said, referring to this country, that it would be impossible to combine the function of prosecutor or promoter of prosecutions with the judicial capacity of the magistrates, as they could not then be unbiassed. In India this impossibility seems to be quite possible.

[2] Some of the unfavourable aspects of this question will be found in the chapter on the Press ("Editorial").

judge, an Englishman, receives 2083 rupees per month, the assistant and sessions judge, Mr. Dayaram Gidumal, B.A., LL.B. (Bombay University), only gets 320 rupees![1] I visited the court of the latter, and sat through the trial of a cause concerning property, and I found the demeanour of the judge and the conduct of the pleaders and witnesses very creditable to all concerned. The affairs of the court were conducted in a most business-like manner, and with the utmost dignity on the part of the judge. There was an application for a certificate of inheritance (under Regulation viii., 1827) by a Hindoo woman, Bai Rana, widow of Khachar Joita Natha, who prayed to be her husband Joita's heir, and her application was opposed by Joita's brother on the ground that he was joint in estate with Joita. The reader would not understand the technicalities of the case, nor would they indeed be of any interest to him; but the end was the withdrawal of the opposition and the granting of the certificate to the widow. Both parties were represented by native pleaders, the witnesses were apparently very straightforward, and a neat pedigree was laid before the court. The case was conducted partly in English and partly in the vernacular. It was here that I first formed the impression, which was over and over again confirmed, that although the members of a Hindoo family are said to be devoted to one another, the courts are crowded with such litigants—often brother against brother—and the matter in litigation is nearly always the family possessions. In this case the property was declared to be worth 3300 rupees. At Delhi I attended the court of an English district judge (S. Clifford, Esq.), and heard two causes tried, or rather one in part only, both of which presented novel features, and will serve to show the kind of cases upon which the Indian judges have to adjudicate. One was a claim against the municipality, which was defended, strangely enough, by a pleader who is a member of that body, Mr. Gridhari Lal, and who has the reputation of possessing a great share of eloquence. It did not, however, seem to have much effect upon the judge. Counsel for the plaintiff (a contractor)

[1] It is only fair to our Government to say that the native states are worse even than they are. In one native state which I visited, a leading native official received 4000 rupees per month; his chief secretary 150!

was remarkably free and easy. He leaned over the rail which divides the "court" from the pleaders, and put a good many leading questions to his honour in the course of his argument. "Don't you think so and so?" "Are we not entitled to?" &c., &c. Seeing me smile at these repeated appeals for help from the court, his honour, who possesses a large fund of humour, intimated to the pleader that he was hardly entitled to his services as a witness in the case, and whispered to me in an aside that "the system is different here; we are able to form an opinion at the beginning." The eloquent counsel on the other side was not prepared with his defence, and seemed a little disconcerted at the presence of a stranger on the bench; nor was he placed at his ease when the judge told him he "need not mind; it is only an English barrister." The further hearing was postponed.

The next case was one of the most remarkable I have ever heard or heard of in any law court. It would not be entertained for a moment in an English court, and my only excuse for mentioning it here is that it illustrates a remarkable phase of native society. It was a dispute about property between the members of the Kanchan or prostitute caste, and numbers of that highly respectable body were present from different places as witnesses to custom. In order that the reader may understand the nature of the caste and of the dispute (which I did not hear fully determined), I will quote the judgment in a somewhat similar case at Lahore, on appeal from the court of Mr. Clifford, who favoured me with an abstract from the Punjab Record for November 1888.

In pronouncing judgment, Justice Plowden said, among other things:—

"It will be convenient to state first the conclusions which I draw from the evidence, upon which I may observe that the District Judge has, as is usual with him, recorded a very clear and painstaking judgment. It appears that among the Kanchans, and other tribes of the prostitute class, the brothel is an institution. Persons associate together as members of the institution, and sometimes, but not always, these persons are members of one family by birth. There may be male as well as female members of the institution, but the income consists principally, if not solely, of the earnings of the female members. The institution is managed by a head, almost invariably a female, who administers the property of the institution. No

partner has any definite share in the property of the institution. A person who leaves the institution is not allowed to take any share. She only takes her articles of clothing. This happens when a female member so far disgraces herself as to marry" (*sic !*) "or enters another brothel. She leaves, and there is one member the less. Death of a member, whether the head or another, does not affect the institution. If the head dies, a successor is appointed in her place. The removal of a member by death only reduces the number of members. There is, in fact, no inheritance properly so called. The property of the institution remains for the survivors. The body of members is augmented by what is called adoption. A girl is brought in as the adopted daughter of a female member of the institution. The object clearly is merely to keep the institution going, or, as some of the witnesses express it, 'to keep the lamp burning.' A girl who is thus adopted is regarded as having ceased to belong to her own family. It is clear that the object of association is to carry on the business of prostitution by the female members, for all live upon the profits. . . . The object is the true bond of union between the members for the time being. I think it is clear that there is no such thing as inheritance, and that the so-called custom of adoption gives no right in the nature of a right of inheritance. Partition of property upon death of a member of the association is practically unknown. The institution survives for the benefit of the surviving members, notwithstanding the death of one of them, the personal interest of that member being extinguished by death."

The other judge (Tremlett) concurred with the judgment, and mentioned in the course of his remarks that in this case the parties were Mohammedans.

In England, instead of adjudicating upon a dispute concerning the property of such an "institution," it would have been criminally prosecuted as a "disorderly house."

But that is not the only caste which would be regarded as criminal in this country. Another is the thief caste, of whose pleasant ways I heard a good deal also in Delhi. They let out their members to persons or firms owning property to watch the premises, which are then respected by the caste—a kind of black-mail. Shortly before my visit, however, the member of the caste who had charge of the premises of Messrs. ——, large merchants there, committed what I suppose must be called a breach of trust, that is, he stole something. He was dismissed, and for security a number of police were introduced into the premises, but during the night nearly every window in the place was smashed, and the firm found it more convenient to hire another of the thieves, and to leave

the punishment of the dishonourable one in the hands of his fellows. Talk about trades unions after that! (Plate XXI.)

Nearly all the pleaders in the Mofussil are natives, and a large number take a more or less prominent part in all advanced social and political movements; many, I daresay, do this from professional motives, but not more so than at home. Many of them seem very anxious to become thoroughly proficient in their profession and to rise to official posts: indeed, they already occupy most of the inferior offices. Some, however, are ill-informed and amusingly conceited. At Agra, a very clever native pleader, after taking me the rounds of the courts, asked me whether I would give him the titles of a few of the best works used in England by students for the bar, his object being to visit this country as soon as he should be in a position to do so. I sat down to write them out for him, and whilst so engaged, another pleader came up and asked my companion what I was doing. On being told, he said to me, "Put down the 'Comic Blackstone,' that is a good book." It did not occur to me at the moment that he might mean Blackstone's Commentaries, and I looked at him to see whether he was in earnest. Turning to my acquaintance, I said, "The 'Comic Blackstone' was a series of humourous satirical papers that appeared in *Punch* many years ago; I believe they were written by Gilbert A'Beckett." Our instructor fired up. "Yes," said he, "they were satirical only so far as ignorance of law was concerned," and with an indignant toss of his head, he turned on his heel and walked off!

In the High Court at Calcutta about forty of the advocates are natives (nearly all Hindoos), who have been called to the English bar, and there are about a hundred native pleaders. To apply to the former Lord Selborne's remark concerning the native judges, "they bear most favourable comparison" with their English confreres. The reason of this is not far to seek. The most enlightened and ambitious Hindoos in the profession come to England and there qualify to practise in their own courts, whilst the most enlightened and ambitious Englishmen stay at home. I was told that the advocate with the largest practice in Calcutta is an Englishman, and the next in order a native. There are three native puisne judges, who are held in

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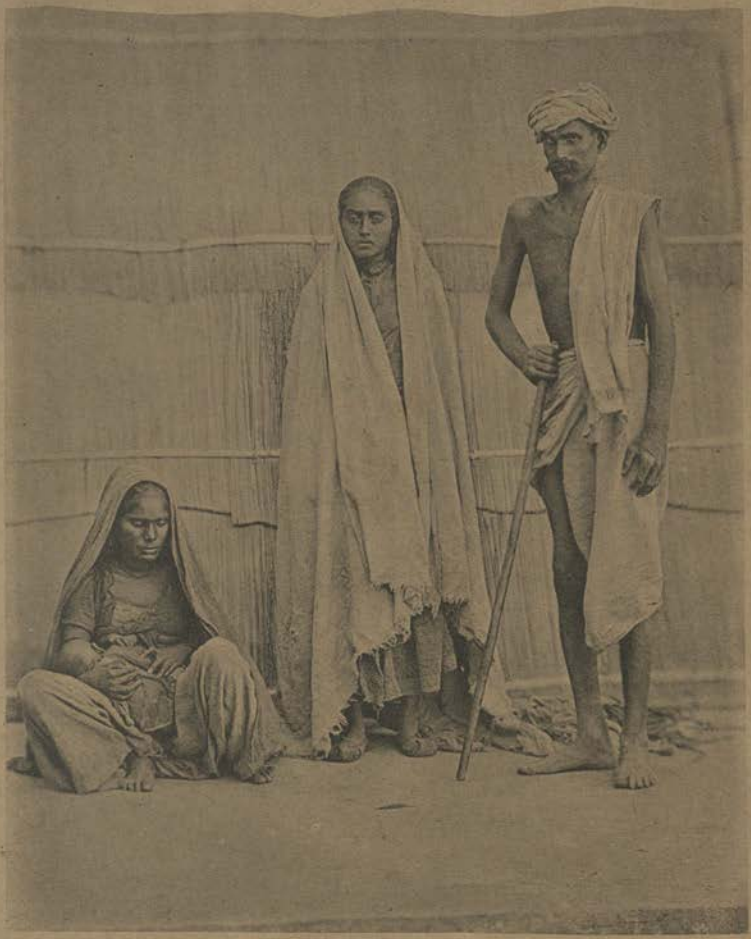

Maclure, Macdonald & Co., Glasgow.

MEMBERS OF THE THIEF-CASTE, DELHI.

high esteem by every one, and the business of all the courts is conducted with as much dignity and regularity as in this country.

And now a few words concerning the criminal classes of India, who also "compare favourably" with those of more highly civilised communities: the proportion of criminals to the entire population being small, and that of women quite insignificant. Without any desire to make invidious comparisons, but to enable my readers to form some estimate, I propose to give the figures in India and England respectively. The average total of the prisoners in all the jails in India and Burma in 1886 was 76,676 (of whom only 2906 were women); this, in a population of 254 millions, makes one prisoner to every 3381 inhabitants.[1] In England, so far as I could ascertain in official quarters, and on a basis of the last census, there were in all the jails in the same year about 22,000 prisoners (of whom about 3200 were women) in a population of about 26 millions, or one criminal in 1180 inhabitants. In India the numbers include in many cases persons committed only for a few days, but on the other hand, they take no account of many who are privately punished by their caste; and again, it must be mentioned that of the Indian prisoners about 1800 were incarcerated for crimes (?) committed in Burma, that is to say, they were made prisoners in our conquest of that country and treated as criminals. Of this more hereafter.

A visit to the House of Correction in Bombay gave me a very unfavourable impression of the prison system in India, but this, my first experience, was rectified by the inspection of other jails. The prison itself is a wretched place, little better than those of the less civilised countries of Europe, but I was told that there was an intention to provide better accommodation elsewhere. The prisoners are chiefly low-caste natives, with a disproportionate number of Europeans; the work is mat-making, weaving, oakum-picking, and the treadmill; the punishment, solitary cell with stocks. The food is good, but there is hardly any exercising ground, and no provision of any kind for education. The governor, who took care to impress

[1] "Moral and Material Progress," p. 4.

me with the fact that he was a "good old Tory," considered any effort to educate prisoners quite misplaced, and his general tone on all matters connected with the treatment and reformation of prisoners appeared to me hardly in keeping with the spirit of the age.

In striking contrast with this British jail and its head is the one in the native state of Baroda; indeed, if it were possible to be enthusiastic anywhere on such a sad theme, it would be there. The jail itself is built on the radiating system, with a central watch-tower, and twelve open-barred radiating sheds 160 feet in length, in which the prisoners are at work. The whole is whitewashed and beautifully clean, and stands in extensive grounds, containing vegetable gardens, where much of the prisoners' food is grown. I could not help comparing this prison, with its cheerful surroundings and the bright blue sky overhead, with another radiating jail at home, namely Pentonville, which I visited some years since on a dark foggy day, nor thinking of the depressing effect the prisoners must feel from darkness and solitary confinement in our great penitentiary.

The total number of prisoners at the time of my visit to Baroda was 630, of whom 580 were males and fifty females. All the men bore chains excepting the well-conducted "privileged" ones; 115 were under life-sentence for murder, including highway robbery with homicide. Of the women, twenty were sentenced for life for poisoning their husbands, or for killing children to secure their ornaments. The "life" women wear a yellow band upon their robe (*sari*) as a distinguishing mark, and the "life" men work in separate sheds. The other terms of punishment ranged from ten years down to a week, and on "joyous occasions" clemency is extended to them in various forms. Those who are sentenced for two years or under, work outside at levelling roads, gardening, &c. The appearance of the men at work is very curious. They sit on the floor with their feet and legs in wells, weaving carpets, quilts, counterpanes, &c.; others make very beautiful cane baskets, and for all these articles considerable orders are executed for different parts of India, and even for England. Nothing that I saw in India testifies so strongly to the taste

and industry of the natives as the work of the jails, for what I have here stated applies to others that are well conducted. The women spin, make tape, &c. The prisoners have two meals a day: in the morning, lentil soup and bread; in the evening, vegetables and millet bread, with wheaten bread once a week. Besides these they get various kinds of vegetables, as the egg-plant, haricots, onions, large radishes, pumpkins, &c., which, as I have said, are mostly grown on the premises. But with few exceptions the prisoners are shockingly ignorant; hardly one can read or write, and there is no school nor system of instruction. This is the more to be regretted, for the governor of the jail, a native gentleman, values education in every rank of society, and takes a deep interest in all that concerns the poorer classes. Once a week a priest comes, and there is some kind of religious service. Capital punishment is seldom resorted to, and only in cases of aggravated murder.

At Agra there is a jail constructed on a model somewhat similar to the preceding, but far more extensive, both the buildings and the grounds in which they stand. The proportion of women here was even less than at Baroda, there being 1700 prisoners, of whom only about fifty were females. Amongst the men were about 200 so-called "Dacoits," who, the superintendent told me, were imprisoned for "making war" in Burma, and he seemed to think they would not be detained for any lengthened period. When I remarked, "For defending their country, I suppose," he smiled and gave a diplomatic shrug of his shoulders.

I don't think the annexation of Burma has been popular with any considerable section of the community in India, and seeing these prisoners reminded me of the royal proclamation after the sepoy mutiny. There was a sentence in it which ran thus: "We desire no extension of our territorial possessions, and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions, we shall sanction no encroachments on those of others." We were "sick" then, and we "saints" would be, but we are "well" now, and have forgotten our professions. An outspoken American writer who visited India wrote, just before Burma was annexed: "I have noticed, as an instructive coincidence in the history of British rule in Asia, that some

outrage, some menace to British power, always takes place about the time that the interests of the Empire require more territory. England wants Burma, and its annexation is foregone."[1] This is the bare truth, and if we must still live by the sword there, let us at least refrain from treating the conquered races as criminals for defending their territories against our aggression.

There is another institution of a penal character in India, which is so useful and so admirably conducted, that I should like to say a few words in praise of its management, and that is the David Sassoon Industrial and Reformatory Institution in Bombay, to which reference has already been made. It owes its present usefulness to a wealthy Jewish merchant, or rather to his sons, the Messrs. Sassoon, who gave suitable premises and a grant of 30,000 rupees in 1857 to an already existing institution. When I visited it, there were 235 boys, all except eight committed. Of these, 107 were apprenticed to mills outside, but lived in the reformatory, 25 worked at cotton presses, and 103 were employed in the institution itself. The last-named made various kinds of carriages and carts, which were beautifully constructed and artistically finished. Also objects of utility too numerous to mention in detail, such as meat-safes, garden-seats, cots, garden tools, &c. As the boys belong to various castes, no religious instruction is given, but there are teachers of English and several vernacular dialects, and masters for giving instruction in the various branches of industry practised within the walls. Much of the success of the institution is due to the secretary, Mr. Nayaren Pandoorung, and the head of the committee of management is the estimable Presidency Magistrate, Mr. Cooper, who takes a deep interest in its success. The committee is a strong one, including the Commissioner of Police, the Inspector-General of Prisons. The chief defect is the absence of religious instruction, for if even the doctrines taught by the priests are heathenism, they are better than blank atheism, and the teachings of judiciously selected priests would at least exercise some moral control over the boys' after lives. In conversa-

[1] "Around the World with General Grant," by John Russell Young, vol. i. p. 142. New York: American News Company.

tion with Mr. Cooper, I found that he coincided with this view.

A few words regarding the growth of crime as the concomitant of increased intemperance; and in connection with this matter a curious circumstance has come under my notice since my return from India. It is that although the Hindoos are a sober nation, and indulge in alcohol chiefly during their festivals, there must be a good deal of heavy drinking in some places. Take, for example, that depraved den of idolatry Benares. It is well known that Mr. Caine, M.P., whose efforts in the cause of temperance in India are above all praise, established numerous branch associations in the country. Now, whilst this treatise is being prepared for the press, I have received a fly-sheet containing a report of the society's work in Benares, which mentions the gratifying fact that the caste of Ahirs or cow-keepers, 20,000 to 30,000 strong, and certain other castes, numbering altogether 10,000, have forbidden the use of intoxicating liquor, and the report says:—"The caste of the Ahirs has been famed for drinking, and their loss was quickly felt at the *toddy* shops." I have underlined the word toddy, because it has been urged that drunkenness is increasing from the enforced sale of spirit. It would perhaps be as unfair to judge India by Benares as the United States by Chicago, but such facts as are here mentioned warn us not to accept, without considerable inquiry, the statements of enthusiastic teetotallers any more than those of the officials who defend all phases of the traffic.

Be that, however, as it may, although I am far from thinking that the Government has been guilty of any callousness in seeking to increase the revenue to the detriment of the national morals, careful inquiries in various parts of India satisfied me that laxity in the granting of licenses to distil spirits, and more especially the "out-still" system, under which Government loses control over their manufacture, bids fair, if not checked in time, not only to debauch the natives, but to lead to a great increase of crime. The last may not yet be statistically apparent, but that is sure to follow. At Ahmedabad, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, and other large cities, I was assured by persons immediately connected with the munici-

palities and courts of justice, that drunkenness and crime are both on the increase, and even conscientious Englishmen in different parts of the country, whose duty it is to administer this department, have deplored to me the growing indulgence in drink amongst the natives, and have not hesitated to attribute this degradation, where it exists, to the increased facilities for obtaining drink, rather than to any change in the generally temperate habits of the people.

# CHAPTER XVII.

## MATERIAL—SOCIAL.

Condition of the lower classes—Contradictory opinions—Wages of labourers and artisans—Hours of labour and holidays—Food and dwellings—The drink question—Hindoo sobriety—Thrift—Official reports on poverty and degradation—"Children of the famine"—Kindness and solicitude of British officials—Their difficulties—Amusements of the masses—A native theatre—The audience—Actors and performance—Adaptation of ancient legends to the stage—Synopsis of a native melodrama—"Parikshit"—Hindoo social life—Difficulties of the subject—A Hindoo dinner—A personal experience—Fingers known before forks—Variety of dishes—Description of Hindoo cookery—A learned waiter—A Hindoo house and its inmates—The men's apartments—The Zenana—The head of the household—Rather a cool reception—Another Hindoo home—The reception-room—(Note on a meeting of natives at Allahabad)—The inmates—A mourning house-father—Extravagant funeral ceremonies—A circular of invitation to the feast—Sacrifices to meet expenses of funerals and weddings—Tiffin without knives and forks—Visit to the Zenana—Occupations of women—A more cordial reception—Curious parting presents—Evidence of social changes in progress—Visit to a widow's home—Two widows of one husband—General account of social life—Of bachelors—Of married men and women—Race degeneracy—Infant marriage reform—Hypocrisy of some reformers—Much cry and little wool—Railways—Their advantages—Contrast between first and third class—Wretched accommodation in the former—Relations between English and natives—"Old Colonel Thunder"—A *striking* hotel regulation—Lashing natives in the streets—Mutual dislike—Its causes—Arrogance of young officials—General estrangement—Personal anecdote—*Audi alteram partem*—Objectionable native customs—Unreasonable requirements—Their women and English ladies—Efforts of British officials to improve relations—Kindness of native officials to visitors—Personal experience—Newspaper criticisms—John Bull in India—His peculiarities—Amusements—"Pegs"—Great hospitality and kindness—Sometimes abused—Anecdote—Is residence in India martyrdom?—English and native opinions—Author's views—A word on "cold" and "hot" seasons—Great variations of temperature—Former immoral relations between English and natives—The "Bibi-Ghar"—An old colonel and his harem—The Eurasians—Their character and position in

India—Prejudices against them—Europeans, reformed Hindoos, and Parsees—Native receptions and dinner-parties—Appearance of native ladies—A cosmopolitan assemblage—Social intercourse and politics.

THIS chapter must necessarily be somewhat gossipy, for the life of the natives of India is so completely alien to ours, that I have heard Englishmen who have been a quarter of a century in the country declare that they knew no more about the customs and habits of the natives than they did on the first day of their landing. There are, however, various reasons for this ignorance. One is that an English resident only makes the acquaintance of one-half of the community, namely, the male portion; and another, that the longer he remains, the higher and thornier does the hedge grow which divides him from his native "fellow-subjects," and he seldom endeavours to break through it. It is, moreover, hazardous under any circumstances to generalise on Indian questions, on account of the diversity of faiths and nationalities to be met with in that vast country, more especially in treating of the social and material condition of the masses. One authority will tell you that they are always on the verge of starvation, and are getting worse day by day—millions, you will be assured, only get one meal a day; another, whilst admitting that labour is badly paid—a fact which it is hardly possible to deny—informs you that the natives neither eat nor require meat, that they need hardly any clothing, that they pay practically no rent, that where they only get one meal it is a very full one, that they don't work half as hard as our labouring classes, and are much happier.

During my visit to the country, much of my time was occupied in studying the subjects immediately connected with our own relations with the Empire, and the conditions bearing upon its political future; but thanks to friends, both English and native, long resident there, who instituted inquiries for me in various parts of the country, many of which I visited, I was placed in possession of trustworthy information, which will enable me to lay before my readers a crude sketch of the social life of the different classes. The admirable reports which are issued from time to time by the local government, have assisted me to correct or confirm the data upon which my opinions have been based.

The wages of the labouring classes in India, taken *per se*, seem ridiculously low to an Englishman, and make him wonder how they manage to exist. They are, however, gradually rising, and will continue to do so with the development of railways and other economic changes in progress. Taking the rupee at 2s., for to the humbler classes the fall in the exchange makes no appreciable difference, a coolie or labourer gets in various parts of the country from 3¼d. to 7½d. per diem, whilst artisans, such as bricklayers, masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, turners, &c., earn from 7½d. to 1s. 6d. In some exceptional cases, I found wages to be higher, as, for example, in Baroda, where I was told that skilled artisans can earn as much as two rupees (4s.) a day, and doubtless the same remark applies to other places, but certainly such wages are exceptional. Mill-hands receive from seven to eight rupees a month, and it is not unusual in that and other vocations for the whole family of men, women, and children to be earning money, in which case they are, of course, well off. In one place the chief clerk of one of the officials told me he knew a family of artisans who were earning twenty-five rupees per month. The hours of labour vary from eight to ten per day, but as far as I could learn, the former figure predominates over a great part of India, and in that case the hours are from eight to twelve, and from two to six (I am speaking of the artisan classes; the hours of the peasantry have already been treated in the chapter on agriculture). Work is nominally carried on seven days in the week, but when one comes to inquire about holidays, he finds that, as in some European countries, their number is very considerable. In answer to one of a set of lithographed questions, "How many holidays are taken?" an English friend, a high official in the Hardoi district of Oudh, gave me the following amusing reply:—"Impossible to say; every pretext imaginable is availed of to take holidays." The fact of a great number of holidays being taken argues against the assertion that the mass of the people are in a pauperised condition.

The lower classes, as a rule, live in wretched mud-huts, for which they pay next to no rent; sometimes the blue sky suffices for their roof. Rents for such hovels as they inhabit vary from eight annas per month to two rupees (4s.) for a

decent dwelling. The poorest live upon cheap grains, whilst those who are better off take two or three meals of various kinds of fruits and vegetables.[1] It may be said that, as a rule, little intoxicating liquor is drunk, but enormous quantities of sugar and sweetmeats supply its place. As I have already said, thousands may be seen chewing sugar-cane, which is sold in sections in every bazaar. They have stimulants, too, in the form of chillies, condiments, &c.

In the last chapter I showed from the report of a Temperance Association that "toddy," the fermented juice of the palm, is quite capable of becoming a medium for drunkenness, but it is not true, as was recently stated in the House of Commons, that it is a very intoxicating drink. I tasted it more than once, and can only compare it to "nettle-beer." In some places it is part of the food of the people. Another kind of drink, "*Sharab*," is compounded from treacle and the bark of the acacia-tree, which are soaked together, put into clay pots, and fermented. The taste is peculiar, but by no means disagreeable. It is undeniable that the sale of spirituous liquor, which is the vilest trash imaginable—I tasted it in several places—is to some extent supplanting that of the less noxious drinks. At Delhi I was told that before the mutiny there were only two liquor-shops; now there are twenty-four. Still, if we compare that number in a population of 170,000 with our own large towns, it completely confirms the view that the Hindoos are, as a nation, almost total abstainers.

The natives have the reputation of being exceedingly thrifty, and they are so as a rule. I remember saying to an English lady that I thought the native soldiers, who only receive six or seven rupees per month, were greatly underpaid, and as an argument against paying them more, she exclaimed, "Why, if you paid them only two rupees they would save one." Whilst, however, they are very economical in their daily expenditure, it is notorious that they are universally extravagant on certain

[1] A most interesting report of the food, clothing, &c., of the peasantry was published in the *Gazette of India* of October 20, 1888 (p. 1329), in which it is shown how the scale of diet varies in the different provinces. That of Bengal agrees substantially with what I heard at Beheea, and have already told the reader; whilst in the North-West Provinces "milk is everywhere a great auxiliary, and in normal years the people seem to enjoy a rude plenty."

festive occasions, such as births and marriages, as well as on deaths—they cannot be called funerals, for they do not bury, but burn their dead. On such occasions, not only are the whole of a poor man's savings squandered away, but he gets into debt into the bargain; and, as I shall show presently, this applies not alone to the lower, but to every class of society.

At the commencement of this chapter it was stated that some persons have sought to show that millions of the people are in a state bordering on starvation, and although there may be some exaggeration, there is also much truth in the statement. There is no need to go deeply into statistics in dealing with this matter, and all calculations as to how much the peasantry and lower classes generally earn, and what they can live upon, are vain in the presence of such well-established facts as are from time to time brought to light by the English authorities themselves. "In Behar," says one reporter, "it is believed that 40 per cent. of a population of 15,313,359 is in a state of agricultural degradation."

In Patna, "their fare is of the very coarsest, consisting to a great extent of *khesari dál*, and the quantity is insufficient during a considerable part of the year; they can only take one full meal instead of two. They are badly housed, and in cold weather insufficiently clothed."

"The Commissioner of Allahabad remarks in a general way that there is very little between the poorer classes and semi-starvation." "Poverty," says another official, "amongst the labouring classes in the Mofussil most certainly exists, and not only does it exist, but represents the normal condition of the masses; but," adds the same reporter, "while poverty is the rule (I still speak of the lower classes), want is the exception." In many places, on the other hand, the peasantry are described as being much better off and far happier than the same class in England.[1]

The result of the state of semi-starvation in certain districts, and of the poor being content to live from hand to mouth,

[1] Supplement to the *Gazette of India*, October 20, 1888, p. 1322. If the reader wishes to make a study of the condition of the agricultural population throughout India, he cannot do better than read this document with care.

becomes painfully apparent during a long dry season, and one has only to visit the charitable institutions of the country to see evidences of their deplorable condition. "What are these children?" I inquired, at one of the Roman Catholic institutions for destitute girls. The answer would have puzzled many inquirers. "They are children of the famine." During these calamitous periods, the missionaries, especially the Roman Catholics, reap a plenteous but grim harvest for Christianity. Not alone do they take charge of the orphans of peasants who have died of starvation and educate them as Christians, but the starving parents, in some instances, actually barter their children for relief in money or kind. No secret is made of those transactions, and, to do the missionaries justice, in the instance just referred to, I never saw a healthier, happier set of young creatures than those "children of the famine."

As far as the English officials are concerned, I can testify from personal observation that the condition of the poor people of their district is to many, if not all of them, a constant source of care and anxiety. "Thank Heaven we have had a good fall of rain, and are not likely to have a repetition of the scenes of ——" (naming a year of famine). "How is the rainfall with you?" These two sentences were contained in a letter of introduction which was given to me by the leading official in one district to another, nearly a thousand miles away, and it represents the almost universal feeling. Indeed, complaints reached me more than once of the perplexity caused to the local authorities by the conduct of the natives themselves. "We start expensive relief works for them," said one gentlemen, "such as making roads, &c., and on the first appearance of rain they will throw down their implements and go off to their farms, without giving us the least notice of their intention." More will be said on this subject when we come to consider the general question of British rule in India.

Great changes are taking place in the social customs and amusements of the people, owing partly to the opening of railways. Their enjoyments, especially in the towns, consist of attendance at small nautch (dancing and singing) parties, listening to Hindoo instruments played in the streets, gambling in a small way, giving picnics in gardens, inviting and going

to friends' houses to dinner, attending weddings, looking at fireworks, &c., and in the country, besides some of those amusements, wrestling during the rainy season and attending fairs. The last-named have often been described, but perhaps a description of a native theatre may have some interest for my readers. I only attended one, namely at Calcutta, and that was considered to be of a high order. There was hardly any one except our party, two native gentlemen and myself, in the expensive part of the house, the remaining portion seemed to be filled with the lower-middle and lower classes, natives of course. Nearly the whole of the gallery was screened off by a cheap kind of lattice-work for the use of the women, and one side of the boxes was veiled with curtains having peep-holes in them, for ladies of the higher classes. The actresses, I was told, were mostly loose women; in fact, I am afraid that is almost universally correct, and as with us, some of them performed boys' parts. The play partook of the character of an opera, but was what we should call mythological, altogether, it reminded me very much of an English extravaganza. Some of the women had fine voices, and the natives intensely enjoyed the music, which to European ears is monotonous. One of my companions, a native gentleman who has been a considerable time in England, was occasionally in ecstasies with the singing. It is impossible to describe the acting, which was sometimes most effective; one scene in particular, in which there sat a hermit who had taken a vow of silence, being admirable. But it may perhaps be interesting to my readers to see in what manner the legends of the ancient Hindoos are adapted to their modern stage, and I therefore venture to append the account of the plot, taken from a kind of playbill, of which copies were handed to the spectators:—

"BENGAL THEATRE.

"PARIKSHIT" (pronounced Pariksheet).

"*Synopsis.*

"Under the benign rule of *Parikshit*, a virtuous king of the Pandu dynasty, peace and plenty was shining forth serene, thus interfering with the inglorious reign of *Kali* (Son of Vice), who was put away from th

precincts of Parikshit's powers, and compelled to use his influence upon those only who would serve him. Sorely sick at heart at this humiliation, Kali consults his firm followers—the Six *Enemies* of Mankind—when the voice of Hope is heard, who advises him to put the Genius of Ill-luck and all her attendants in Parikshit's track. The latter then conspire to bring about the fall of Parikshit.

"Urged by his sister-in-law, Parikshit swears to go a-hunting, which, if undertaken for a frivolous cause, was deemed a vice. At this, *Lakshmi*, the Guardian Goddess of the royal race, appears before him, and when she learns that he will not retract his vow, deserts him.

"Pursuant to the promise made to his lady-love, Parikshit goes a-hunting, heedless of Iravati's (the Queen's) importunities, and, while following up a deer, suddenly loses sight of it and feels fatigued. He enters a hermitage in front, and finding a hermit (*Samika*), who has taken a vow of silence for a certain time, asks for drink. Getting no reply, he thinks himself slighted, takes up a dead serpent by the end of his bow and coils it round the hermit's neck as a return of insult. This was an insult, considered a grave one, inasmuch as it proceeded from a king, for whom it would seem a dereliction of duty. He repents, and with a heavy heart starts for his palace.

"Meanwhile, the son of the 'silent' sage (*Sringi*) hears of his father being insulted by the King, and in a fit of passion pronounces the curse that the King shall lose his life-blood by the fatal fangs of the Terrible *Takshaka* (the Serpent-king) seven days hence. He then comes up to his father, who, when he hears of the curse, at once sends forth one of his disciples to apprise the King of his danger and have him prepared for the inevitable doom awaiting him. *Gourmukha* goes to the King and delivers his message. The terrible news runs like wildfire throughout the kingdom. Parikshit's son (*Janmejaya*), his wife (*Iravati*), and his mother (*Uttara*) come in turns to sympathise with him in his dire distress, to all of whom Parikshit bids adieu.

"*Krishna*, God of gods, sends *Sukdeva*, one of his favourite saints, to Parikshit to preach the gospel of Truth and Learning, and thus prepare him for a higher life.

"Physicians from all parts of the kingdom were hurrying forth to the King. Through love of gain, the Divine Physician (*Dhanwantari*) was going to the palace, but was intercepted by the Serpent-king, who questioned him of his power to cure the King from the expected bite. When the Physician gave unquestionable proof of his power by restoring to life a tree bitten to ashes on the spot by no less than the Serpent-king himself, he sends him away with the present of a very precious gem, and thus deprives Parikshit of the only means of escape from the bite of the Serpent. *Kali* (Son of Vice) then requests the Serpent-king to reside within a fruit which he intends to present the King with.

"On the seventh day, as Parikshit is sitting on a dais, attired as an ascetic, surrounded by saints and sages, in come several Brahmins to bless him, and among them Kali. The fatal fruit is presented, out of which

emerges the Serpent-king and bites the King on the head. Thus the curse of Sringi is fulfilled, and the virtuous King dies a premature death, to keep up the honour due to the Brahmin race, amidst the lamentations of his loving subjects."

Then follow the scenes, twenty in number, and the *dramatis personæ*; as also the names of the managers, Kunja Behary Bose and B. L. Chatterjee.

On leaving the theatre, I asked one of my companions whether the people accepted these stories as gospel-truth, and he replied in the negative; but whatever may be the views of the visible portion of the audience, I should be sorry to bring a charge of heresy against those who sat screened behind the lattice-work.

And now, rising a step in the social scale, I must ask the forbearance of my readers whilst I seek briefly to describe the social life of the middle-classes of Hindoo society. I have used the word "forbearance," because, as every one knows, it is difficult to obtain access to the native homes; and I was assured by persons who are well acquainted with Indian home-life, that even the English lady-visitors who put on such a very mysterious air when they talk to you about "zenanas," and "*purdah*," and "*gosha*," women, have only a very superficial acquaintance with the subject. The reader must, therefore, be content to hear my own experiences, and such facts of interest as I ascertained from competent authorities.

It will be remembered that in the chapter containing an account of the writings of Megasthenes, a reference was made to "the suppers of the ancient Indians," and it is no exaggeration to say that they differed but little from the same meal in modern Hindoo society.

At ——— I was invited to visit a Hindoo home, and after inspecting the zenana, to dine in the house, Hindoo fashion, with two gentlemen, members of the same family, who resided elsewhere. Several innovations were made on my account; for although it was the custom of the family to dispense even with the tripod tables of Megasthenes' Indians, and to dine off plates set upon a carpet on the floor itself, we were furnished with a table and three chairs. Knives and forks were

there also, but as my native friends dispensed with such superfluities, I decided to follow their example, and I was admonished, if I wished to be considered a Hindoo *gentleman*, to use only the thumb and first and second fingers of my right hand, and nothing else in the feeding process. Before each of us was placed a slate platter about the size of one of our large wooden bread-plates, and near the circumference was a conical hillock of boiled rice. All round the platter were little bowls containing curries, &c., which were utilised in the following manner. You place the platter before you in such a position that the rice is farthest away from you, and then with the fingers indicated you draw some of the rice towards you out of the heap, and dipping your fingers into any one (or more) of the other dishes, you take out some of it and mix it up well with the rice; you then eat the mixture—with your fingers, of course. In this case the following were the contents of seven little bowls placed round my platter of rice, and I am bound to say that, as my friends were not hypercritical upon my initial awkwardness, I soon took courage and enjoyed the novel experience. Dish No. 1 contained fish and tamarind stewed together; No. 2, fish, vegetables, and gravy; No. 3, fish and *dāl* (a kind of grain largely eaten by the poorer classes[1]); No. 4, fish alone, stewed in *sauce piquante*; No. 5, vegetables deliciously stewed; No. 6, dried ground *dāl* in pellets; No. 7, puffs of unleavened paste fried in clarified butter. There was, it will be seen, no flesh-meat of any kind; but, in addition to these seven dishes to mix with the rice, there was a small bowl containing a sweetening fluid of milk, rice, and sugar, and also a small plate with slices of lime. But even these were not all the dainties offered to me; and all were cooked, I may add, by the ladies of the household. There were the most delicious sweetmeats, morsels composed of sugar, milk, almonds, grains, curds, &c., in varying proportions; also chopped spices, cloves, cardamoms, &c.; so that a person who wished to practise the culinary art would have had all the materials before him for the composition of "studies" of the most varied kind. A bowl of water was offered before and after the feast for ablution, and I am

[1] It is variously spelled. I think *dāl* is the correct way.

ashamed to say that I permitted my host to violate his principles and the strict rule of the household by drinking of some champagne which he had surreptitiously smuggled into the premises. A curious custom was observed in a young member of the household waiting upon us—not a lady, that would have been too serious an innovation—it was a fine tall Hindoo gentleman, a B.A. who stripped to his under-garments and helped us assiduously. After dinner I offered him a cigarette, which he modestly declined, saying, "I never smoke in the presence of my brother," meaning his elder brother, who was one of our party.

But now let me give an account of the house and what little I saw of its inmates, for the chief object of this visit was to be entertained, as I have described, at dinner or supper, the hour being 8.30 P.M. The house itself was a very large building, in which probably sixty members of one family resided, the mother of my host being its head. It consisted of an inner and an outer court, the former being the zenana or ladies' quarter. The outer court was surrounded on the inside by a corridor consisting of pillars and arches, and a number of apartments for the use of the men; it was in one of these rooms that we dined. In the outer court the religious festivals are held, the idols being brought out and placed there whilst the women sit above in latticed galleries and witness the ceremonies. A similar arrangement, subject to modifications, is to be found in every well-to-do orthodox Hindoo family, and where receptions are given to mixed companies of Europeans and natives by lax members of the community (lax here meaning not strict in adherence to religious customs), the lattices are removed from the galleries, which are crowded with flowers, and serve as lounging-places for the guests.

The inner or women's division also comprised a court surrounded by apartments on the ground-floor and two storeys above. As I have said, it was evening and dark, and I was conducted through the zenana by the light of a lantern; this may have accounted for the impression made upon me that although the household arrangements were clean, they seemed greatly wanting in comfort. Let me mention in passing, that in many Indian homes the rooms of the men are very carefully

kept by the women, who, however, neglect their own apartments. In one of the lower rooms I was introduced to the old lady who was the head of the numerous household; and in the same room two females lay huddled up like bundles in a corner, to have a good look at the stranger. The old lady, who did not receive me very cordially, wore a red *sari*, and, for reasons to be given hereafter, looked very pale. Our conversation was carried on through the medium of two of her sons. She asked me whether my wife was with me, and I said, "No; she could not venture so far." "Had she never travelled with me?" "Yes, often; but not farther than Athens." She could not bear the sea. She seemed to know all about Athens, and my conductor told me most of the ladies were well educated. This is everything of interest that I saw and heard during my visit, and I came away with the impression that it had been reluctantly permitted.

On another occasion I had a much better opportunity of seeing all the domestic arrangements of a native family. This time my companions and guides were a native Christian lady, her son and daughter, near relatives of the family we were visiting; and, notwithstanding that the latter were rigidly orthodox, the most friendly relations existed between the two branches. It was about two P.M. when we paid our visit, and, whilst tiffin was being prepared, I was taken into a portion of the premises which served as a workshop—the reader must excuse any nearer description—where numerous men, some inmates of the house, were busily occupied at their trade. Next I was taken to the reception-room, in which the furniture consisted of a carpet and cushions on which the guests are usually seated.[1] The people, I should mention, were of a lower social rank than those first visited. The household consisted of forty or fifty men, women, children, and servants, and

[1] The reader is of course aware that the normal attitude of the natives is on their haunches. I was much amused at Allahabad, where I attended a meeting of about 400 members gathered together for the consideration of social questions. I was the only European present, and there were not above half-a-dozen chairs in the large tent where the meeting was held. After a few furtive glances at me, first one, then another dropped down, until the whole meeting was seated on the floor, except two or three native gentlemen, who sat by me on chairs to keep me in countenance.

its head was a native gentleman, whose mother had died a few days previously. This fact, however, did not prevent the son from coming to see me whilst I was in the reception-room, although he was in mourning. His head was shaved and he wore a light muslin robe; and it was explained to me that he had been superintending preparations for the funeral feast, which was to take place in the course of a few days. In connection with the funeral ceremonies, the head of the family would have to give a considerable sum to two or three Brahmin priests, or rather "presents," amounting in value to about 100 rupees; he would furthermore have to feed about 100 mendicants, and to give to each a piece of cloth and an anna. Besides all this, there was a special feast, at which every one was invited to be present who had the least acquaintance with the family, and to bring with him as many friends as he pleased. Here is a translation of the printed circular of invitation:—

"Sri Durga.[1]

*Mother Ganges.*

I duly inform you that my mother died on Wednesday the 19th. On Saturday the 29th the funeral obsequies (*Sraddha*) will be performed. Your presence and that of your friends is respectfully solicited to the midday meal. I invite you.

Signed ——."

Altogether I was told the presents and feast would cost from £100 to £150, a sum which my host, whose means were limited, could ill afford. Indeed, as already stated in a previous chapter, these ceremonies weigh very heavily upon the people of all ranks, and sometimes plunge the survivors into debt from which they never recover. On one occasion, a native lady, who deprecated these customs, showed me a valuable frontlet of pearls and precious stones, which one of her relatives had asked her to sell or pledge in order to raise the

[1] *Sri* is equivalent to Sir or Mr. *Durga* I don't quite understand. One explanation is "a god;" another, "a Hindoo goddess, one of the names of Bhawani;" and Durga was a sacred commentator.

money for a funeral feast, as that was the only way in which the expenses could be met.

The same remarks apply to weddings, when the father has not only to provide a feast and dowry for his daughter, but to make numerous presents to the priests, &c. "We all know," I heard a delegate at the Social Congress say, "that when it comes to marrying our third daughter, we have to mortgage our house."[1]

But to proceed. After lunching with the friends who accompanied me, all using our fingers in the orthodox fashion, and being waited upon by two sons of the house, I was taken to see the women's apartments. In one of these there were stored enough vegetables of various kinds to feed a small army, which were intended for the feast; in another I saw the women cooking meals for their male relatives, and here again one of my guides indicated my course through the apartment, so that my shadow might not fall upon the food. In a third room a very pretty young Hindoo married woman had put on her best robes to greet me (I am not sure whether it was the wife of the head of the household). After shaking hands cordially we had a few words of conversation through one of my lady companions; and then, when we had inspected two or three more of the apartments, we took our leave.

When we were seated in our carriage, a son of the house came out to bid us adieu, and handed us sweetmeats and a number of gaudily-painted little images as farewell presents. As we drove away my lady friend said, "Would you like to visit one or two other zenanas about here? Friends in the neighbourhood who knew that you were coming here would like you to go and take some refreshment, and they will show you their apartments." (The natives are not only very hospitable, but very proud of their cookery.) Unfortunately, my day had been parcelled out to visit different institutions, and I could not avail myself of the invitation; but I mention this to show that the prejudices of the people are gradually giving way before Western innovations.

[1] Efforts are being made in India, both by native reformers and English officials, to reform these customs, but after careful inquiries, I have come to the conclusion that little real progress is made.

We did, however, pay one more visit as prearranged. This time it was to the home of a young widow, who had been left very moderately provided for with her two children a couple of years previously. Her apartments were scrupulously clean and very neatly furnished, but she had a sad look, as though she would say, "I am out of the world." We did not stay long, but as we walked along the passage, my lady friend pointed to a closed door and said, "There lives her rival." "What do you mean?" I asked. "The other widow," was the reply. He had left two widows, and the second one was on a visit to her friends.

Of bigamy amongst the Hindoos, and of the mode in which the women spend their time, I have already spoken in the chapter devoted to that part of the subject, but a few additional words concerning Indian home-life generally may be of interest. During my stay I had introductions to native bachelors, and although I am bound to say even they avoid inviting you to their houses as much as possible, still I obtained some glimpses of their home-life and habits. My acquaintances were mostly literary men and native officials, and they lived in comfortable bungalows, and devoted all their spare time to reading and study. This applies also to married men in the same walks of life, but in such occupations their female relatives are in no way companions. As a rule, the men breakfast at nine, before going to their daily work. When they return in the afternoon, they eat fruits, &c., and dine at different hours, sometimes as late as nine o'clock. If they are married, it has already been stated, they leave a morsel of each dish for their wives as a matter of form. As a rule, the women have *chota hazri* with sweets in the morning, breakfast at twelve, and dinner after the men, whose meals they cook themselves. Sometimes the women are very abstemious. The old lady of whom I first spoke did not touch a morsel of food until about two P.M., when not only the household, but even callers had been supplied, and then she took the only meal of the day. As I said, she was very pale and emaciated, and my impression was that she would be none the worse for a second meal. Altogether, it cannot be too often repeated that the Hindoos are a weakly-looking race, and they will continue to be so as

long as they keep their wives and daughters cooped up in zenanas.

In connection with this subject a word must be said upon child-marriages, concerning which almost as much is known in this country as in India, owing to the numerous publications that have issued from the Indian press. In common with marriage reform, very slow progress is being made, and one reason is the insincerity of some of the so-called reformers. In one large city I was told that the President of the Association, after numerous declarations and protestations against child-marriages, had ended by giving his own daughter in marriage at the age of nine years. A delegate at the Allahabad Social Congress spoke strongly against passing resolutions and then doing nothing further. "I have seen marriages celebrated quite recently," he said, "between girls of two and boys of eight. Brahmins wish to compromise by following the code of Manu, and won't marry girls under eight, nor boys under fourteen." I am sorry to say that in one or two cases even I found English "zenana-ladies" trying to gloss over this monstrous custom. "Yes," said one lady, "they are *betrothed* at an early age, but it means nothing." Every one who knows anything about the matter knows that if the boy-husband dies the girl is a widow, may not remarry, and that in the large majority of cases she leads a life of drudgery, if nothing worse. As a matter of fact, there is a great flourish of trumpets on these reform questions; meetings are held, resolutions passed, and there the matter ends. This is one of the most glaring defects in the Hindoo character.

All classes of society in India are deriving great benefit, socially and morally, from the extension of railways, and one has only to keep his eyes open in travelling to see how these, by enforcing contact between the different ranks and castes, are gradually removing old prejudices. There is one feature in Indian railways, however, which cannot be too strongly condemned, and for which the State authorities, as owners of the chief lines, must be held responsible, that is the disgraceful accommodation, or want of it, provided for the poorer natives, who are indeed their best customers. It is no exaggeration to say, that they are herded like cattle; the air of

the carriages is pestilential, and makes them quite unfit for the occupation of human beings. This grave defect in the organisation of the railways is all the more marked when contrasted with the accommodation provided for Europeans in first-class carriages, where there is ample space. The windows are glazed with panes of tinted glass to moderate the sun's rays, water is supplied externally by means of a special apparatus to cool the atmosphere, and within the traveller may wash as often as he likes, and even enjoy his bath. Such contrasts as these must have the effect of accentuating race differences. Still, on the whole, railways are conferring incalculable benefits upon the Indian people.

And these reflections bring us to the question of the general relations between the English and the native residents.

"Old Colonel Thunder used to say,
And fetch his bearer's head a whack,
That if they'd let him have his way,
He'd murder every mortal black!
. . . . . .
In fact, throughout our whole dominion,
No honest nigger could be got,
And never would, in his opinion,
Until we polished off the lot!"[1]

"Yes," I hear some of my Anglo-Indian friends say, "but you know very well there are no Colonel Thunders now." Perhaps not, but a good deal of the talk remains, and that is nearly as bad as the action. Again, if you go into some of the first-class hotels in India, you still find prominently posted in the guest's room, amongst the regulations of the establishment, the ominous request that "visitors will be good enough not to strike the hotel servants; any complaint against them will be attended to." No doubt, I shall be told that if an Englishman strikes a native he will soon be brought up before a magistrate. I am sorry to say that, notwithstanding this theory, I saw a good deal of lashing of natives in the streets by people in carriages to make them get out of the way, and worst of all, that native drivers follow the bad example of the English residents. Whilst physical force is going out of fashion, and

[1] "Lays of Ind."

such hotel regulations as I have named refer rather to the past than to the present time, it is useless to cry "Peace" where there is no peace. Neither side is blameless in the matter, and although it is very difficult for the English to cultivate friendly relations with the natives, much more difficult, I admit, than it is for a casual visitor or a writer on the country to moralise on the subject, there are many indications of unnecessary estrangement. First, as regards our own people. I have heard our officers boasting that if they ordered a whole room full of respectable natives to clear out, and they disobeyed, the very appearance of one of their orderlies would drive them helter-skelter out of the room. This is simply an admission that we are regarded as despots in India. Again, the older civil servants are usually gentlemen in every sense, and they treat the natives with due consideration; but some of the younger officials, who, it must be remembered, come into more direct contact with the natives than their superiors do, are about the most consummate puppies whom it is possible to meet. I heard them in some instances use language and speak in a tone of voice which would be amusing if it were not dangerous to our rule. "We like your people best when they first come out," said a native gentleman to me one day, "but they soon cease to be friendly and courteous and get into English ways."

Generally, I am afraid it must be admitted that the demeanour of the English towards the natives is unnecessarily cold and distant, even where it ceases to be dictatorial. One morning I was taking a walk before breakfast through the streets of a large city in the Mofussil, and passing a large municipal school, I noticed a well-dressed native sitting in the grounds. He rose and advanced as he saw me looking at the place, and I went forward to meet him. Having ascertained that he was the head-master, I inquired whether he would allow me to inspect the school. He expressed his regret that the scholars would not assemble until ten o'clock, but said that if I returned at that or any later hour, he would gladly conduct me through the classes. We chatted together for a considerable time on many subjects, chiefly educational and social, on which he held most enlightened views, being, I need hardly

say, a man of first-rate education. At parting I thanked him for his courtesy and for the information he had given me. "You are most welcome, sir," he said, "and thank you very much for having spoken to me." I was a little taken aback, and exclaimed, "Spoken to you! what do you mean?" "Oh," he said, in some perplexity, "I mean that your countrymen here don't speak to us natives." If this had been the only time I heard such an expression, I should have considered it a malicious libel, but I am sorry to say that in various degrees it is too true, and that in many places even an Englishman who is known to be on friendly terms with natives is not treated with the same cordiality and courtesy as one who holds himself aloof from them. If it were necessary or desirable, I could multiply examples.

But there is another side to the story. In the first place, there is a natural disposition, amounting almost to a necessity, on the part of the English community in India, to use a common expression, to "hang together," and the natives certainly do little to diminish their isolation as a community, but, on the other hand, they expect to be treated by the English as they (the latter) treat their own friends. That is impossible; and any "philanthropist" who expects to see an amalgamation of the races, with their present divergent views and habits, is simply a visionary. What changes the future may bring about it is impossible to predict.

"The native gentlemen," I was told more than once by English acquaintances, "expect us to invite them to come to our balls and evening-parties, and to let them enjoy friendly intercourse with our wives and daughters, but they won't even trust us *to look at theirs*." . . . "They come to our receptions and eat our ices, but they would not let us sit down at their table, nor taste their food, which they eat with their fingers. Are these the kind of people to introduce into our private family circle?" . . . "They acknowledge themselves that their wives are illiterate domestic drudges, so they wish to enjoy the company of our refined women. Let them educate and raise their own females to an equality with ours, and then we can associate on friendly terms." These and even stronger expressions are used, and, I regret to say, with a considerable

degree of justice. Shortly before I was at Calcutta, the wife of an English gentleman of good position and her husband left a dinner-party, given, I believe, by the Viceroy, in indignation because, against her will, an attempt was made to compel the lady to go down to dinner with a native gentleman of good position. The husband, I was told, had to apologise, but this overt act merely represents the feelings which actuate a great portion of the English community in India. In short, the difference in customs, in the estimation of women, and in regard to eating and drinking (always a tender point with Englishmen), makes the association of the two races difficult; and all the more credit is therefore due to those who soften down those asperities, as many are seeking to do in different parts of India. In a few of the stations the leading officials are endeavouring, more or less successfully, to break down the barrier which exists between the two races. They invite native ladies and gentlemen to their receptions, and the shyness of the former is gradually disappearing before the kindly welcome extended to them by the English ladies. On the other side, too, the native officials are anxious to secure the approval of the English, and, so far as their religion allows it, they treat visitors with consideration and hospitality.

The character of my introductions gave me ample opportunities for observation on this score. At —— the leading native Ministers and officials entertained me at an "at home" and concert, and although to my uncultivated ear the music greatly resembled our pibroch, the performances of the native artists on the different national instruments were undoubtedly remarkable and interesting, and I expressed great pleasure at the attention which I had received. From this entertainment I went to dine with some of the leading English officials at a private house, and being a little late, I mentioned where I had been detained and described the concert. My amiable hostess said, "It is very strange they never invite us to such entertainments!" In this case it was difficult to account for the difference made by the natives, for, so far as I could judge during a hasty visit, my English acquaintances were sympathetic in their feelings towards them. But there are many reasons why resident Englishmen are not more cordially treated,

the chief being the fear of affording a subject of satirical comment, not only in private, but in public prints; for, as many of my readers are probably aware, not only the Anglo-Indian, but even the English press frequently requites the natives for such attentions as were shown to me by making them the subject of sarcasm and ridicule.

Towards each other, and towards their countrymen who visit them, the Anglo-Indians are most agreeable and hospitable; in fact, they appeared to me to be a decided improvement upon "John Bull" in "his island." They have their little peculiarities, but they are innocent and amusing. Their chief enjoyments are lawn-tennis, pig-sticking, horse-racing, and (this is strictly *entre nous*, reader) "pegs." A "peg" is a large bottle of soda-water with a small glass of whisky (Scotch preferred), and I was told that the designation originated in the belief that every glass consumed is a peg in your coffin. I saw no drinking to excess, but everybody "pegs"—gentlemen, many ladies, and some educated natives. They deny that they live well; an Indian residence is martyrdom, and they won't hear a word to the contrary. A very good story is told about an English visitor and author, which is worth repeating. He was travelling through the country with letters of introduction, one of which was addressed to a railway official at some distant station in the Mofussil, and this gentleman, desiring to treat his visitor with due honour, came in a "*gari*" to meet him at the station, and at a subsequent repast managed to provide a bottle of champagne. When the author returned home, he is said to have enlightened the public on the state of India by saying that the Indian station-masters live in a very extravagant style; they drive in carriages and drink champagne! I heard this story several times, but the incident does not seem at all to have damped the hospitable temperament of our countrymen, for the only time in my life that I was ever driven in a carriage and four was by an English officer in India, and I frequently found champagne on the dinner-tables. Still it is not wise to mention these things. India *is* martyrdom.

If you travel about during what they call the cold season, that is, between November and March, you will be put through your facings over and over again in the following manner:—

"When did you arrive in India?"

"On such and such a date."

"How long are you going to stay?"

"Until March."

"Ah! there you are! You people come out here at the pleasantest time of the year, live on the fat of the land, and go back before the broiling season, and then you tell people what a delightful place India is! I wish you would stay over the monsoons, and just sit for one week with ice on your head."

On one occasion a native lady in Calcutta began in the same strain, asking me, with a laugh, whether I was not going to stay over the hot season. "What!" I said, "do you want to cremate me also? I have been asked that over and over again by my countrymen." "Oh, no!" she said with a smile; "I should only wish you to stay that you may see how your countrymen exaggerate."

One thing is certain, namely, that whether they exaggerate or not, I found that, excepting in the case of those who take a great deal of exercise in the open air, every Englishman is ten years younger than he looks. So far as health is concerned (I don't speak of discomfort, which must be very great during the hot weather), I came to the conclusion, which is supported by statistics, that the "cold" is more unhealthy than the hot season. During my stay in the Punjab the thermometer nearly always stood at 120° in the sun during the heat of the day, and when I went out for my early morning walk, I more than once found the grass covered with a hoar-frost. According to the papers, there was a variation of 100° in the twenty-four hours.[1] But be this as it may, there is one remarkable fact which bears directly on the question. Of late years the

[1] A report appeared in the *Indian Daily News* (Calcutta, February 7, 1889) showing that the death-rate diminishes in the hot, and increases during the cold season.

English have fixed the hottest hours of the day for paying visits of ceremony!

There are two kinds of association between Europeans and natives in India, or rather one exists—the other is in progress. The first results from the immoral connection between Englishmen and native women, which is now confined to the soldier class, but was formerly universal.

"Every bungalow built during the last century," says a writer on the English in India, "possessed an adjunct known as the '*Bibi-ghar*' ('*bibi*,' a lady or wife; '*ghar*,' a house), which sheltered its occupant's zenana from the public gaze. This was tenanted by one or more dusky ladies, generally Mohammedans, whose insatiable love of intrigue and native music was a constant source of annoyance to their lord and master. The depth of his purse was the only limit to their numbers. Sixteen was the recorded maximum maintained by an old colonel, who, in response to an inquiry what he did with so many, replied, 'Oh, I give them a little rice and let them run about.'" . . . "Its result" (the custom) "is to be seen in the great Eurasian community, whose condition and future are at this day exercising the minds of those who wish for the welfare of our great dependency."[1]

The position of the Eurasians, who are a comparatively small but a very conspicuous race in the country, is somewhat unfortunate.[2] They look down upon the natives, and wish to be considered whites, but the Europeans dislike them, and the natives despise and call them a bastard race. During my stay in India I frequently heard remarks from members of both nationalities which confirm this often-expressed opinion; but another, that they possess the vices of both races, the English and the Hindoo, is, I think, greatly exaggerated. They occupy many of the lower official posts, such as station-masters and office-clerks, and in my personal contact with them I found them both courteous and business-like, and regard much that is said in their disparagement as the result of prejudice. It is

[1] F. H. Skrene, in the *Indian National Magazine*, "India in the Eighteenth Century."

[2] They were set down in the Return for 1886-87 as 62,084.

when they rise in the official ranks that they shine the least, for then they become as overbearing as the worst class of British officials, whom they seek to imitate. 'At present, if there is a disagreeable man at the head of any minor department, you are sure to hear that he is "a Eurasian." It will be long before the prejudice against them dies out, but I don't think it will be permanent.

Another association between the natives and Europeans is of a much more satisfactory kind. The members of the reformed Hindoo faith and the Parsees hold pleasant and frequent intercourse with the Europeans, and a great deal of real friendship exists between them. In the large cities, and especially in Calcutta, dinner-parties, soirées, and receptions are held almost daily by the two former, where ladies and gentlemen of every nationality meet on the most cordial terms. The ladies are usually attired in a costume that combines the Oriental and Western styles. They wear high dresses of silk or other material, over which a kind of "*sari*" is gracefully disposed. The effect is very picturesque, and, along with much jewellery, it affords a striking contrast to the plain attire of the English ladies.'

At these receptions, which are very imposing, you meet people of every race and creed. At one of them, given by a wealthy native barrister at Calcutta, I met Sir Stewart Bayley, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, a great friend to, and favourite with the natives; Prince Ferukshah, the descendant of Tipu, to whom I have already referred; a brother of Keshub Chunder Sen, who was the most eloquent preacher of the Brahmo-Somaj;[1] Mr Yule, the President of the National Indian Congress; besides Mohammedans, Parsees, Hindoos, English, Scotch, Irish, and a Burmese, who, I was told, was a member of the Viceroy's Council, little, if at all, acquainted with the English language.

For the rest, were it not for the colour and costumes of some of the native guests, these receptions would differ in no respects from similar ones in our country, and to those who know how important a factor in English political life such

[1] The founder was Ram Mohun Roy.

reunions are, their extension to India must be a feature of great significance. Before treating of Indian politics as a distinct question, however, we must give some consideration to two important educational agencies—the press, and the municipal institutions of the country.

# CHAPTER XVIII.

## EDITORIAL.

Importance of the press—Its liberation—Its position—The charge of sedition against native papers—Comparison of Indian with English and American press—Different kinds of journals—The Anglo-Indian and native press—The *Pioneer*—Its excellent management and articles—Its intemperate language on political subjects—Its views regarding Mr. Hume and the powers of the Government—Appeals by English papers for coercion—Proposed State publication of seditious articles from native papers—The author's extracts from such articles—From the *Dainik Chandrika*, a valediction to Lord Dufferin—Criticism—From the *Bangabasi*, an attack upon the Government—From the *Akbar-i-am*, another attack on the Government—From the *Satyashodhaka*, comparison of British and native rule—From the *Subhasuchaka*—From the *Akbar-i-am*, on corruption in courts of justice—From the same journal, alleged bribery of a deputy-collector—Ludicrous accusation—The Government and libels on officials—Known cases of corruption—Extract from the *Projabandhu*, published in French territory, a criticism on English policy in India—*Divide et impera*—The English press—Objectionable treatment of natives—The *Bengal Times*, abusive attack on a native barrister—General tone of English press—Philanthropic co-operation of different nationalities—Political value of respectable native press.

EVERY year the security of British rule, and indeed the personal safety of the European inhabitants of our Eastern Empire, will depend more and more upon the utterances of the English as well as of the native press, which is now as free as that of our own country, and this subject is therefore one of paramount importance, and must be treated without fear or favour.

In 1835–36, under the viceroyalty of Sir Charles Metcalfe, the first step was taken towards the liberation of the press of India, and by the Act XXV. of 1867 it was subjected to the same rules in regard to publication as our own newspapers, that is to say, the names and residences of the printer and publisher, as well as registration, were made incumbent upon

the parties concerned. It is impossible here to give an account of the dealings of the Indian Government with offending journalists in the past. Suffice it to say, that under Lord Ripon the native press, through the Vernacular Press Act, was made permanently free to discuss all political questions. Since then the press has grown to be an important factor in the intellectual and political life of India, and, as a whole, it is no exaggeration to say that it takes high rank in the periodical literature of the world. It possesses, moreover, some marked characteristics, which entitle it to a distinct place in any work professing to deal with the condition and prospects of our great dependency, more especially that section of it against which the charge of disloyalty and sedition has of late been so frequently preferred—I mean the native newspapers, which are daily increasing in circulation and influence.

In one respect the press of India compares very favourably with Western periodicals, namely, in the absence, or at least the rarity, of those objectionable sensational paragraphs relating to crime, outrage, and immorality, which form so conspicuous a feature in some of the newspapers of Great Britain and the United States. This objectionable portion of some of our papers is singularly unfortunate for our influence in India, as the educated natives look to this country for enlightenment, and for an example to be followed in politics and morals. I noticed that they are quick to detect our shortcomings, and when those are paraded under capital letters and in sensational paragraphs from day to day, they cannot fail to shake confidence in a nation which poses in their country as infallible.

The newspapers of India are of three kinds—the strictly English, the native, and the bi-lingual journals. Some of the first-named are printed on a broad sheet, as at home—such, for example, as the *Indian Daily News*, which is perhaps the largest; others, as the *Calcutta Englishman*, the *Bombay Gazette*, and several excellent journals, are of a somewhat inferior size, whilst the *Times of India*, the *Allahabad Pioneer*, and others are printed on a smaller sheet, but are of a thicker volume. The circulation of the English journals, at least of those intended for the British community only, is necessarily limited,

and consequently the price is high, ranging from one to four annas.

According to the last Government report, there were twelve newspapers published in the English language in Bengal during the year. "Four," says the report, "were representatives of distinctly European opinion;" and here we have the keynote to the English section of the press throughout India. "Distinctively" means English, as distinguished from, or, more correctly speaking, antagonistic to native thought and aspirations; but if that description applies to some, it is not applicable to all the English papers. For example, the *Morning Post* of Allahabad not only published a full report of the Indian National Congress, accompanied by friendly leaders, but its editor, Mr. Atkins, was one of the delegates; and the *Daily News* of Calcutta, the *Bombay Gazette*, and two or three more of the higher-class papers are friendly in their language. Still, in dealing with native questions, the tone of the English press naturally reflects the prejudices of the English community for which it caters. Setting aside their political proclivities, which are natural, I found all the editors with whom I came into contact in different parts of India as intelligent and well-informed as they are obliging and ready to instruct and assist strangers. The *Pioneer* of Allahabad and the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore profess to represent official opinion, the former being by far the more important journal. I read it daily, in whatever part of India I happened to be, and found it, as have no doubt many of my readers, admirably conducted, and containing, besides the latest news, many interesting and often amusing articles, from some of which extracts or quotations will be found in these pages, as throwing light upon native customs and character. The *Pioneer* is, however, not always quite as temperate in its language as so respectable a paper ought to be in dealing with the delicate relations between the governors and the governed, and its political articles are almost always couched in a tone of authority and infallibility. Fortunately, however, the Indian Government and the official *Pioneer* do not always see political questions in the same light, else our old acquaintance, Colonel Thunder, would still "have his way," and instead of wasting

its time in trying to enlighten, elevate, civilise, and emancipate the "niggers," the Government would promptly and incontinently "polish off the lot."

It has been asserted and disputed times without number that the Government of India is a despotism; but if the *Pioneer* rightly interprets the law of the land, there is no need to discuss that question any further. Speaking of Mr. A. O. Hume, the Honorary Secretary of the Indian National Congress, the *Pioneer* said that "the Government of India would be quite within its moral as well as its legal rights if, without using any needless ceremony in the matter, it took straightforward measures to put his genius for agitation under restraint, giving him the option of withdrawing to England" (how kind to the mother country! would not Ireland have been more appropriate?), "and there reinforcing the strength of the gentlemen connected with the East India and other associations which are concerned in the cultivation of public opinion in London."[1] So that is the "legal" right of the Indian Government; even a mock trial before a deputy-commissioner is unnecessary. I think I remember something of the kind being done in St. Petersburg when I was there in 1849, forty years ago!

As two of the objects for which the native movement is being pushed forward are office and emolument, it is not surprising that the English papers, of which the *Pioneer* is rather a pronounced type, should be somewhat vehement in their appeal for suppression. If they once commenced, however, they would find it difficult to stop, and would in all probability create a grave political danger to our rule in India in trying to save the loaves and fishes for themselves. Sometimes I have thought—and I am aware that I shall incur severe displeasure for expressing such an opinion—that, so far as the civil service is concerned, the reminiscences of the mutiny of 1857, the events of which are as fresh in the memory of the older men as though they had occurred yesterday, have something to do with the outcry against native

[1] *Pioneer*, January 1, 1889. In the same article, British rule in India is rather dubiously defended as "the Government that circumstances have established in this country."

aggrandisement, for the tone of the official journals indicates anything but conscious strength in those whom they profess to represent.

This is by no means the opinion of the great majority of our fellow-countrymen in India, who say that the antagonistic feeling has been evoked by the effusions of the native press, which is allowed to preach rebellion and to attack the English officials with impunity. Indeed, if I mistake not, a proposal was made last year to collect and publish in a State paper extracts from the native journals which were of a distinctly seditious character. Whether or not this has been done, I am unable to say, but seeing the gravity of such a charge, I endeavoured during my stay in India, with the assistance of impartial friends, to collect some of the most violent of these diatribes, and I propose here to make a short selection of them for the reader's edification. In doing so, I have employed the literal translations as they were given to me along with the original vernacular journals from which they are extracted.

From the *Dainik Chandrika*, Bengali daily, Calcutta, December 4, 1888; a valediction to Lord Dufferin:—

"Ye friend of the British, better go back to your country. Dufferin, we are not sorry for your separation! We will not in the least feel sorrow for your departure. We know you, Earl of Ava! You do not want the affection and love of the people of India. Those who say that you possess a heart, they may have heart, but they have no brain. You have no heart, but you have brain. On your arrival in India you have done no such act for which the people may love you. This you know. You have understood that the people of India have not been betrayed with sweet words. Oh! Irish Lord, better go back to your country and turn your looks towards Ava. We know that you are an opponent of local self-government. We know you, Anglo-Irish zemindar, that you consider India as the place for enjoyment and earning of the Anglo-Indians, and to draw away the money of the people of India in the name of the Russians" (I presume the writer means "for defence against Russian aggression"). "The English Ministry sent you out to this country knowing full well that you will not pursue the policy of Ripon. You have pleased the Anglo-Indians by extending territory, and drained money away from the natives in wars."

After asserting, "We are not Baboos," the writer repeats in other words that the Viceroy has not gained the affections of 260 millions of people; that he has "reaped no profit but pecuniary gain;" that he likes flattery, but that "we consider you unfortunate."

As to the question of local self-government, to which Lord Dufferin does not seem to be at all unfavourable under certain restrictions, and his general views, we shall consider these in an impartial spirit hereafter; but certainly it is unfair to say that the ex-Viceroy followed the policy of annexation to please the Anglo-Indians. A great part of the English press in India certainly disapproved of the annexation of Burma. Of the taste of the article there is no need to say anything; it speaks for itself.

From the *Bangabasi*, native weekly Bengali paper, Calcutta, November 10; an attack upon the Government:—

"Our Government is constantly asking for money. Thirty years ago India had not an annual income of more than fifty crores; now the yearly income is raised to eighty crores. Still the Government is unable to meet its expenses, and is asking constantly for money. The Baboos in favour of local self-government are dancing in rejoicing. They believe that in future they will have the administration of the country in their hands. The English will change their policy on the clamour of the Indian people." (The word "not" is probably omitted.) "What, then, is hoping against hope? There is no means for enhancing the taxes. What then is to be done? Indian money will have to be remitted to England. The English coins will not come to India. What then? There is no cause for anxiety. *India is milk-cow.* She will herself die, but will not shrink to give milk."

The words are italicised by me as showing the feeling in this respect of a large proportion of the natives concerning English rule; but what I would draw the reader's attention to is the comparative moderation of the language throughout the article. In the Government report which has been frequently quoted,[1] we are told that of the weekly vernacular newspapers, this one, the *Bangabasi*, has a circulation of 20,000, whilst four others exceed 2500. Nothing proves more conclusively that the great body of native readers, whatever may be their opinions, prefer moderation in language to violent invective. Some of the other native journals, however, strike harder.

From the *Akbár-i-Am*, or "The News for the People," a little lithographed journal of ten pages, printed on thin paper, measuring about 6 inches by 10, published in the Urdu

[1] "Moral and Material Progress," p. 135.

dialect at Lahore by Pandit Makoondram, November 10, 1888; another attack on the Government:—

"One of the sympathisers of the country writes, that owing to the distribution" (? destruction) "of the crops in the last as well as in the present year, the people have been dying of hunger; and although petitions are presented and telegrams sent, yet the Government do not make any arrangement for their relief; and, on the contrary, they realise revenue from the cultivators by selling cattle and other articles—whatever can be found."

As the reader may wish to see what a native lithographed journal is like, I append a photograph of the one from which the foregoing paragraph is taken. One page contains an advertisement in English of "Scott's Emulsion."

From the *Satyashodhaka*, a Marathi weekly paper, published at Ratnagiri, November 11; a comparison of the British and native rulers:—

"The Government can spare no funds to assist the helpless and famine-stricken people of Guzarat, whilst it can easily afford to spend lacs of rupees on military operations against its neighbours. Who will not say, on seeing the liberality displayed by the native ruler of Bhavnagar, that the administration of native kings is far superior and more deserving of praise than that of our *enlightened* British rule?"

From the *Subhasuchaka*, published at Satara, November 16, 1888; an attack on the Government:—

"The British Government treats the people of India like orphans." . . . "No voice is allowed to them in the administration of their State. Legislative councils are mere forms and farces, in consequence of which there is no check upon the extravagance of expenditure. The people are overburdened with taxes."

Before me are many more prints containing articles of the same tenor, and worded in similar terms; the constant cry being "extravagant expenditure," "aggressive war," and "no check upon taxation;" but in some of them Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, is spoken of in a kind and laudatory manner. The English courts of justice come in for their share of adverse criticism.

THE
AKHBAR-I-'AM.
LAHORE

# اخبار عام

لاہور - ۱۵ - نومبر ۱۸۸۸ء
پنجشنبہ
NOVEMBER 15, 1888
THURSDAY.
Nov. 15th
XXIII

شرح قیمت اخبار عام

ہفتہ میں تین بار شائع ہوتا ہے

| | پیشگی | | مابعد |
|---|---|---|---|
| | بلا محصول | بمحصول | بمحصول |
| نے پرچہ | ۳ | ۰ | ۶ |
| ماہانہ | ۶ر | ۹ر | ۱۲ر |
| سالانہ | ۷۲ر | ۱۰۸ر | لغایت |

اعلےٰ ترین کاغذ پر مندرجہ ذیل ہے
سالانہ پیشگی مع محصول لغایت
" مابعد " ۱۳ر
" پیشگی بلا محصول ۹ر
" مابعد " لغایت

میعاد سالانہ پیشگی تین ماہ شش ماہی اور باقی فقط

اعلان

(۱) یہ اخبار ہفتہ میں تین بار رشنبہ و پنجشنبہ و ہفتہ کو شائع ہوتا ہے۔
(۲) قیمت سب سے پیشگی - ورد بخصاب مابعد۔
(۳) نئے خریدار دو رخواست کے ساتھ قیمت بھیجینگے تو اخبار جاری ہوگا ورنہ ایک پرچہ بھیجکر اخبار بند کیا جائیگا
(۴) تبدیلی مقام کی اطلاع دینا ضروری ہے تاکہ اخبار برابر جاری رہے۔
(۵) اجرت اشتہارات فی سطر کالم بہر مرتبہ

## اخبار کی بیکری

کلکتہ میں ایک جہاز ڈوب گیا - ۸۰ - آدمی غرق ہوئے۔

لاٹ صاحب کلکتہ میں وارد - سانحہ علاقہ قحط زدہ کو گئے۔

غلہ کے فاقہ گورنمنٹ پر بڑا کود نکی نظر تھی - پھر ڈبل کئے گئے

ڈاکخانہ شملہ کے ملازم سڑاہی سمتھ نے بند دق سے خودکشی کی

بمبئی میں قحط زدگان کا ہجوم اطراف سے چلا آتا ہے۔

جنگ سرحد نسبت موسم بہار میں پھر چھیڑی جانیوالی ہے

دستگیری قحط زدگان کمیٹی بمبئی میں آخر کار چندہ کھولا گیا

میرزا پور سے کپڑا زردگی کی اور خبر آئی۔

کل نواب لفٹنٹ گورنر بھی لاہور سے روانہ پٹیالہ ہوئے

کلکتہ میں ڈکیت سیر ہزار ۲ خون کر کے لوٹ پوٹ لیگئے

گرفیف صاحب کمشنر ریذیڈنٹ حیدرآباد سونا قطبی رہ گیا ہے

بنارس میں مستورین لوکل سلف گورنمنٹ کی مٹی خراب ہے۔

آگرہ میں بھی کپڑا بننے کی کارخانہ کاری سرپیہ کھولا گیا

ایک گلاس خانہ چڑھ کا بھی جاری کیا گیا ہے جسکے مالک لالہ موہنلعل ہیں

فروخت چار سہند کیلئے امریکہ میں منڈیاں نہیں۔

برما میں ۲۹ لاکھ من سٹی کے تیل کی سالانہ پیداوار اندازہ ہوئی

اہل بنت شہراں صلح قائم کرنے میں ابتک سب سے پیش پیش ہے

شاہ فارس نے حکم دیا بوشہر سے غلہ باہر نجانے پاوے

فارس میں ترقی تجارت کیلئے شاہ کمپنی نے مفید احکام نافذ کئے

حفاظت ڈاک کابل کیلئے امیر صاحب نے گند مک میں فوجی پہرہ مقرر کیا

حضور پرنس آف ویلز پارلیمنٹ میں ترقی وظیفہ کیلئے درخواست کرینگے

انکی آمدنی اخراجات کو کافی نہیں مقروض ہیں ضرور بڑھنا چاہیئے

یونان کی پایہ تخت میں ایک کالج فقط عورتوں کی تعلیم کیلئے مخصوص

سلطان روم کے ۲ سو باورچیوں کی ۱۵ ماہ کی تنخواہ ملنے کیوجہ سے کام بند کیا

گورنمنٹ جرمنی نے فوج بحری کے بڑھانیکا مصمم ارادہ ظاہر کیا

اٹلی نے ۳ ہزار حبشی قبضہ سوا کیلئے بھرتی کئے ہیں۔

یورپ میں پتھر کا ٹائپ بنانے لگے گئے۔ بلیک کے کاغذ

جنرل ہیریسن صاحب جدید پریزیڈنٹ امریکہ انتخاب ہوئے

فارس کے ساتھ تجارت کے ٹریڈ مارک کی نسبت انگریز تاجر عہدنامہ

انگلستان میں گورنمنٹ رہی کے خلاف عالم لوگ لکچر دینے لگے ہیں۔

یہ ثابت کیا گیا سبزی کھانیسے شراب کی عادت چھوٹتی ہے

امریکہ میں ایک عجب چشمہ دریافت ہوا جسکا پانی صابن ہے

پانی کو نکالکر ہوا میں رکھا تو جم گیا۔ صابن کے اجزا ہمیشہ سب ہیں

روئے زمین پر سب سے زیادہ ٹیکس ملک فرانس کو دینا پڑتا ہے

اس ٹیکس کی تعداد عظیم الشان رقم ایک ارب ۲ کروڑ روپیہ ہے

Maclure, Macdonald & Co., Glasgow.

FAC-SIMILE OF FIRST PAGE OF A NATIVE INDIAN NEWSPAPER.

From the *Akbar-i-Am*, November 6, 1883:—

"Our courts of justice are magical cows. They eat money, make water of money, and throw it out as refuse, or, in other words, are very nice money-markets where justice is sold. First of all there are the court fees, stamp fees, the earnest money, the summons fees, which should be" ("must be" is meant) "paid in cash. When case commenced, the law-broker's pockets should be replenished, and the sweetmeats for each and every individual official in the court should be given. He must borrow money on the security of his pay or mortgage his house, and do anything he likes to please the people connected with the department anyhow. Now-a-days bribery is rampant everywhere. If there is a suit for 100 rupees, 25 rupees must be paid to court officials. From the tyranny of these oppressors the royat" (peasant proprietor) "is ruined; not a single case is decided without bribe. O ye rulers, take notice soon of this oppression."

So far so good, or so bad, whichever the reader likes. I heard complaints of this kind from Europeans as well as natives. Indeed, one large firm told me they never go to law concerning a disputed account; they prefer to lose the money and strike the disputant's name out of their books; but the chief sinners, as I understood, are the inferior native officials and hangers-on about the courts.

The same paper for November 15 contained what purports to be an illustration of the system. For obvious reasons certain names are omitted:—

"Great excitement prevails at ——— on account of a bribery case. A man by name Iman Ali had sent in a petition to the Lieutenant-Governor, that Mr. ———, the deputy-collector, had received a bribe from Fakhrooddin, and that he was prepared to prove that; upon which the petition was referred to the collector of ——— for investigation. The collector sent for Iman Ali, and asked him for proof, and Iman Ali being sick with fever at the time, requested postponement of the case for a week. But it was an arbitrary order, and he was forced to prove the case. He pointed out the name of Fakhrooddin, but was put to so much trouble and anxiety, that his fever became violent. He went to the hospital and died next day. Fakhroodin admitted having given the bribe. The deputy-commissioner required security from him. He being unable to produce one, was sent to jail. As soon as this was done, all the witnesses changed their minds and denied knowledge of the fact. Warrants were issued for them, and one of them was placed in police custody. Mr. ———, the deputy-collector, admits Fakhrooddin's calling at his bungalow twice to give him a bribe, but he did not accept it, and turned him out. This admission proves in one way that his reputation for uprightness was not as it ought to be."

The last statement is decidedly refreshing, and the position of an honest English "deputy-collector" or judge in India must be an enviable one. If a suitor comes to his bungalow and offers him a bribe, of course he must not accept it; but if he refuses it, and kicks the man out for attempting to bribe him, that proves him to be a suspicious character, otherwise the man would not have dared to offer him money! Our officials in India complain bitterly that they are not permitted by the Government to prosecute libellers, and there may be a sufficient reason for such a prohibition; but the Government must not be surprised if, under the circumstances, their servants sometimes take the law into their own hands. On the other hand, two or three flagrant cases of corruption, which have recently been exposed in open court, and one more especially in which natives also were involved, have had a tendency to shake the confidence of the people in British justice, and must certainly present a temptation to dishonest suitors to secure success by corrupt practices. It cannot be pointed out too frequently that the comparatively low salaries of the native officials has a similar tendency.

I should have liked to lay before my readers a few more extracts from the native papers, for, however objectionable their tone may be, they supply food for reflection; but one more must suffice. This is from the *Projabandhu*, a Bengali weekly journal, published in Chandernagore, French territory, with the motto, "Vive la Republique." The date is October 26, 1888, and the article is an attack on or criticism of the English policy:—

"The Bengalis have become eyesores to many mean-minded Anglo-Indians. They are constantly giving out that the Bengalis are disloyal and great enemies of the Empire. On this we have said many things on many occasions, and we now intend to say something on the subject again. The English have many virtues. Intelligence, bravery, perseverance, and moral courage are visible in the English character to a considerable degree; but what will these qualities do? They are very malicious: they cannot bear the welfare of another. So long as you are subservient, the English will sympathise with you and do you good, but you will be the eyesore of the English if you raise your head. We say this with regard to the whole English nation. It is not unknown to our readers how the Englishmen at home are dealing with the Irish. Then look at the

attitude of the Anglo-Indians. The Bengalis have, through the grace of God, to some extent become rivals of the English with respect to education and intelligence. They are competing with Englishmen in competitive examinations, and on many occasions going ahead of the English. In whatever agitation the Bengalis join, even if that is good, that will appear to Englishmen as unjust, and whatever is worth on that subject is considered by them seditious. All Bengali editors are supporters of the Congress; therefore the Congress is their eyesore, and the Bengali newspapers are considered as the leaders of the disloyal. In order to ruin this Congress, the English are trying to create hostilities between the Hindoos and Mohammedans. They are allowing undue indulgence to Mohammedans, and holding out threats to Hindoos. But we say that the Englishmen who are encouraging this are bringing dangers on themselves. Are the ill-feelings between the Hindoos and Mohammedans for the better? The people are heartily annoyed; they are capable of doing anything. Siraj-ud-Dowla[1] lost his empire because the people entertained such feelings towards him. Siraj-ud-Dowla lost his senses, and therefore he oppressed his subjects so much. Have the English lost their senses in a similar manner."

This is holding the mirror up to nature with a vengeance, and so long as our rule is unquestioned, no harm, but some good, may result from such plain-speaking, for there is no doubt that the policy of *divide et impera*, besides being most unchristian, if persisted in, may some day prove a fatal one to English rule; but it must be remembered that the paper from which the extract is made is published in French territory, and, as I hinted in a former chapter, the objects of its criticisms may one day be changed.[2]

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the preceding articles and paragraphs represent faithfully the "seditious" and "libellous" attacks upon the Government and upon individual officials complained of as appearing in some of the lower-class native papers; but it would be unfair to pass by in silence similar, or even worse tirades which are published from time to time in Anglo-Indian papers, and which are calculated to arouse the bitterest feelings of hostility in the Hindoo community. Sometimes these articles simply clamour for repression, and if they were heeded by the

1 Of "Black Hole" notoriety.

2 According to the Calcutta telegrams, I see that the circulation of this paper has just been forbidden in British India.

Government—which they are not—every shred of liberty which has been so wisely granted, and in a general sense so wisely and creditably used by the subject race, would be withdrawn, and our rule in India would cease to be even what it is at present—a mild and paternal despotism. Occasionally articles appear which hold up to ridicule and contempt the action of the natives, even when they appear to be prompted by a desire to please their rulers, and in other instances their courtesy titles, such as "Honourable," when they are members of Council, are withheld with scorn. Such articles, of which I have read many, seem to be prompted by a policy of exasperation, to please the worst feelings of the Anglo-Indians, and although they are sometimes highly amusing, there can be little doubt that they are as undignified as they are dangerous. It is not often, however, that such an article appears as the one quoted by Mr. Cotton in his "New India" (p. 89), of which a portion is here appended.

It had reference to the candidature for Deptford, on the invitation of the "Four Hundred," of Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose, who, as some of my readers may be aware, is a barrister of old standing of the Middle Temple, and an advocate of the High Court of Justice of Bengal. It is from the *Bengal Times*, June 1885:—

"Could a chimpanzee be trained to stand for a borough, doubtless he would be found to have an excellent chance with a county constituency" (*sic*). "And perhaps a chimpanzee would be a cleverer animal than this Ghosh Baboo, whose publicly uttered sentiments in Dacca obtained for him the title of polecat. Thank Heaven 'Four Hundred' do not represent an English constituency, and the Baboo may find to his cost that at the last moment the English nationality has revived. In such a case, his insolence and presumption in seeking a seat in Parliament would be fitly rewarded by an infuriate crowd of roughs. We would effectually dispose of every Bengalee scoundrel who dared to aspire to an Englishwoman for a wife; while any Englishwoman who married a native should, in our opinion, be publicly exhibited as a shameless, abandoned woman, a reproach to her sex and a disgrace to her nation."

Fortunately for our rule in India, and for our reputation as a civilised community, every intelligent native knows that this is a hideous caricature of England and its people, and the less intelligent are sufficiently logical to know that an election

committee represents, however imperfectly, the intelligent political views of a constituency, whilst "a crowd of infuriated roughs" represents its blackguardism; and fortunately, too, such articles as I have selected from papers on both sides represent only the heated elements in the national controversy. If "race animosity" be apparent in the higher-class Anglo-Indian papers, it finds utterance in language that is at least unobjectionable, and those who regard deeds rather than words may read in the Indian papers daily notices of philanthropic and social movements which are supported by great numbers of people working kindly together, irrespective of "creed, race, or colour," and by the kindly disposed editors in suitable leading articles; and if some of the native papers so far abuse their liberties as to degenerate into license, there are others, such as the *Voice of India*, which reflect the higher and nobler phases of native character, and which are very useful in enabling the Government to gauge public opinion in the absence of fully developed representative institutions. The words "fully developed" are here used advisedly, because, notwithstanding there is no Parliament, and although native representation upon the Viceroy's Council is quite nominal, the basis of a great electoral system already exists in the municipalities of the country. Speaking with the utmost deference to the experience of old residents in India and the statesmen who direct its policy, I cannot help [illegible] that the political influence of those institutions has been greatly under-estimated, and it is to them, therefore, that we shall now direct our attention.

# CHAPTER XIX.

## MUNICIPAL.

Rise and progress of municipal institutions in India—Municipal committees—When granted—Their constitution—Relations with the Government—Description of a council meeting at Lucknow—Amusing debate—Serious business—Municipal control over the erection of places of worship—Uncourteous treatment of a native companion of the author—"Official" chairmen compared with native chairmen—General character of members—Municipal committees and the Congress question—The electorate—Statistics of voters—Character of electors—Mode of election—The "squaring" of candidates—The *Civil and Military Gazette* on—Powers and duties of committees—Mode of raising revenue—Various forms of taxation—Octroi duties—Their universality—Taxation policy of committees—Their different functions—Municipal duties—Paving, sewerage, education, &c.—Sanitation—Sewerage systems—A consultation at Ahmedabad—Water supply—Beneficent results of the Queen's jubilee—Private benevolence—Bad water and disease—Anecdote—Surface and underground sewage—Inspection of sewage systems at Delhi—Baths, &c.—Political action of municipal committees—Account of a council meeting at Calcutta—Badgering a chairman—Cutting your cloth according to your pattern—Addresses to Viceroys—Municipal councillors and the National Congress—Result of the author's inquiries at Ahmedabad elsewhere—Have municipalities the confidence of the masses?—Open policy of the Congress—Attendance of municipal and district councillors at its meetings.

In the year 1863, during the viceroyalty of Lord Elgin, Lord Palmerston being Premier, and Sir Charles Wood Secretary of State for India, there occurred what appears to me to have been the most important event in the recent history of that country, namely, the establishment of the first municipality at Calcutta. This may seem an exaggerated statement, but if the reader will carefully consider the subject, he will find that it was the first step towards self-government, and, as was the case to a large extent in our own country, that the municipal institutions of India are moulding her social and political future.

There has been no general Municipal Corporation Act for the whole country, but after the foundation of the Calcutta municipality, Acts were passed for corporations in Bombay, Madras, and other large cities in the various Presidencies, and in 1883 one for the North-West Provinces and Oudh. So rapid has been the development of the system, that in the lower provinces of Bengal alone there are at the present time no less than 141 distinct municipalities,[1] whilst according to the Government report just issued on thirty years' rule in India, there are now, besides the district Boards, 720 municipal towns, with a population of fourteen millions.

Generally speaking, a municipal committee is granted to villages containing more than 5000 inhabitants, and some of them hold their meetings on the *maidan* or open space of the village. There is a feeling, even amongst men of advanced opinions, that the system has been somewhat too widely extended, and this view is undoubtedly sanctioned by the fact that in a few instances they are being abolished. The constitution of the committees varies in different localities. In what are known as "backward" constituencies the local Government nominates all the commissioners; in others, only the chairman and vice-chairman; but in the large majority of cases two-thirds of the committee are elected by the ratepayers and one-third by the local Government, it being occasionally the custom in that case for the Government to make its selection from the defeated minority candidates, if they consider them suitable persons. This is a rough and ready way of forming councils, but, as far as I could learn from native as well as English acquaintances, it is the best that can be devised in the present condition of the native population; and in this and other similar matters the Government is always anxious to consult the best interests of the locality. The chairman is usually an influential native, but in many instances he is a leading Government official. There is no "legal adviser," not

[1] Report on Municipal Taxation and Expenditure in the Lower Provinces of Bengal for the Year 1887–88. *Calcutta Secretariat Press*, 1888. There must, I think, be a mistake in this Return, for whilst I was assured by competent authorities that the municipality first established was that of Calcutta in 1863, in the Return that of Darjeeling is stated to have been founded in July 1850.

even in Calcutta, and the deputy-chairman and secretary are generally the executive officers.

As a rule, the Government consults the municipalities on matters of local interest, and respects their wishes; indeed, sometimes it carries this deference much farther than would be done in England, and it assumes the form of politeness more than anything else. During my visit to India, I attended municipal meetings, and sought information in several places on the working of municipal institutions, and on one occasion, at Lucknow, I heard a rather amusing discussion upon a "general order" regarding the protection of wild birds, which had been sent down to the committee for "endorsement." The chairman, deputy-chairman, and secretary, were Englishmen, but the other members present were all natives, and one of them objected to the issue of the regulation by the Government, and said that a special meeting ought to be called to consider the question. Much eloquence was displayed in the debate, and when those who wished to speak had said their say, the chairman held a whispered conversation with the secretary, who referred to some Act or other, after which the chairman gravely announced to the committee that the Government had the power to issue the regulation without consulting them, and had *done* so! Thereupon a member rose and moved that a suggestion be made to the Government that hares be not included in the regulation, which was at once put by the chairman and carried *nem con.* Another conversation ensued in an undertone between the chairman and secretary in regard to the entry on the minutes. Of this I did not quite catch the purport, but from what I heard it seemed to me that no special suggestion from that Board was ever likely to reach the Government as to the undesirability of including hares in the regulation for the protection of wild *birds.*

Notwithstanding what seemed to me a somewhat humorous little episode, the business of the meeting was well conducted, and as it gave an insight into native life in the large towns as well as into some of the duties of municipal bodies, it may be interesting to say a few words concerning the other items that were discussed. A letter was read and approved from the Sanitary

Commissioner of the North-West Provinces announcing the dismissal of one public vaccinator and the appointment of another in his place. An applicant was allowed to compound for octroi dues on goods coming into the city upon a basis of three years' transactions. (More on this subject hereafter.) I found on inquiry that this is customary in the case of contractors catering for regimental messes. A petition was presented by a Hindoo for permission to build a *Shiwala* (a shrine to Shiva), and also two "objections" asking the committee not to grant the request. They thereupon declined to sanction the erection, as contrary to the provisions of an Act (XV. of 1883); and as this is an important subject, a few words may be added in explanation of their refusal. According to the Act in question, or a Government order based upon it, it is unlawful to construct a new place of worship "within a quarter of a mile of an old place of worship belonging to a different sect without the permission of the municipal committee."[1] The mode of proceeding is, that when such an application is made, a notification is published at the municipal offices, and at "some conspicuous place at or near the proposed site, calling on any person who may object to lodge his objection at the municipal offices within thirty days." The objectors are then heard by a sub-committee appointed for the purpose, who report to the general committee, and they dismiss or grant the application, or make further inquiry, as they may think fit. Petitions for the erection of new places of worship within the prescribed distance are not often granted, for they are almost certain to be objected to by rival faiths. The Hindoos don't want to have the Mohammedans too near them, and *vice versâ*; and I was told that even Protestant sects have a decided objection to a competing place of worship being started in too close proximity to their own—a kind of regulation, I presume, for limiting places of worship, as with us public-houses are supposed to be regulated by the "wants of the neighbourhood." What an excellent move it would be to adopt the Indian limit of distance for the erection of gin-palaces at home!

Other subjects of interest were discussed, and, thanks to the courteous and business-like chairman (the Deputy-Commis-

[1] The Lucknow Municipal Manual, p. 89. *Lucknow Express* Office, 1888.

sioner), the whole agenda paper was rapidly disposed of. But before returning to the question of municipal management, it is necessary that I should refer to the following circumstance connected with my visit to this meeting. I was accompanied by a young native merchant of high respectability, who, on our entering the council-room, took his seat on one of a row of chairs standing against the wall, which are reserved for any of the citizens who like to be spectators of the proceedings, for the meetings are supposed to be open to the townspeople, and I was courteously accommodated with a seat near the chairman. Before the arrival of the last-named, however, one of the clerks came in and whispered something to my companion, who appeared very much annoyed, but rose from his seat and retired to an adjoining apartment, where he waited for me until the close of the proceedings. After the council had risen, and as we were driving away to keep another appointment, I asked him whether he had been ordered out, and he replied in the affirmative. "But," said I, "I thought the meetings were open to the public?" "So they should be," he replied. "Then why did you not persist in staying?" "Because, sir, I did not like to make a scene whilst you were in the room. I thought it might annoy you." This was not the only instance, during my stay in the country, where I was personally treated with courtesy, whilst highly respectable native acquaintances, to whom I had letters of introduction, and who acted as my guides, were subjected to indignity by English officials.

The demeanour of the chairman, as may well be supposed, has an important bearing on the influence of the decisions of the various municipalities. An "official" chairman is almost dominant, and as in most cases the very presence of such a chairman denotes only partial fitness for their duties on the part of the committee, this domination, if kept within bounds, is perhaps necessary. But it is not always kept within proper limits, and some "official" chairmen are given to hectoring, whilst in other cases the chairman lets the native members talk, and then contemptuously does as he pleases; but such cases are exceptional, and, as far as I could ascertain, the business is better conducted where there is an "official" than where there is a native chairman. On the other hand, regulations

passed by a native committee presided over by a native chairman are more acceptable to the people, and more cordially obeyed. A native chairman popularises improvements which would otherwise be regarded as objectionable innovations.

During my visit, I met with many municipal councillors whose standard of intelligence and general knowledge were considerably above those of the average English town-councillor; and I found that, as a general rule, the members of the municipal committees are sensible men, and their decisions are sound; but I was told by the secretary of one large municipality that it is sometimes ridiculous to witness the gross ignorance of individual members concerning the subjects under discussion, on which, however, they will persist in delivering lengthy speeches. The councillors are very fond of argument, and in some cases they are animated by selfish personal motives in their public conduct. During their candidature, too, they occasionally appeal to the lower passions and selfishness of their constituents in order to carry their election.

Such things are never done in England—hardly ever!

And let me here mention that there are two very important circumstances connected with the municipalities of India which deserve serious consideration. One is that, as a general rule, they undoubtedly possess the confidence of the masses; another, that although the "Congress" question, or, to speak plainly, the subject of representative government, is not openly discussed at their public meetings, the sympathies of the municipalities are most assuredly with the movement. I have no doubt that the last assertion will be challenged by Anglo-Indians who have resided long in the country, but *not*, I am sure, by natives who have taken the trouble to investigate the matter. I shall probably be told that indifference is the attitude of the municipal councillors. So it is, especially with nominated councillors, when they are speaking either to an official, or to any one who is likely to report their views to an official, or to people whose opinions or acts are known to be hostile to the Congress. The attitude of even the kindest and most considerate Englishmen is not such as to inspire confidence in the minds of the natives in discussing such a question; but I had ample opportunities of forming an inde-

pendent judgment, and of observing the demeanour of "Congress-Wallahs" in various circumstances, and am quite convinced that some day it will be discovered that many of the municipalities are warm supporters of constitutional government. Indeed, in some of the larger municipalities, where the native councillors feel themselves strong enough, expression has already been publicly given to such sentiments. It is not my intention here to discuss the political bearings of this question, but simply to draw attention to what appear to me undoubted facts: first, that the municipal committees possess the confidence of the masses; and secondly, that there is a rapidly growing sentiment in those bodies in favour of constitutional government. Of these statements proofs will be given presently.

As regards the electorate which chooses the municipal committees, it is very difficult to make a general estimate of the ratio of ratepayers to the inhabitants, and of the proportion of voters to ratepayers in different localities, inasmuch as they vary considerably. For example, in Howrah, a suburb of Calcutta, about one-sixth of the population are ratepayers; rather more than one-fourth of the ratepayers are voters; and, as nearly as possible, one-half of the electors voted for the municipal councillors at the last election. Concisely stated, 1667 persons in Howrah represented the opinions of a population of 90,813, or of 15,762 ratepayers. Against this, at Motihari only one-ninth, whilst at Patna nearly one-fourth of the whole inhabitants are ratepayers. To show the great divergence of electoral results in these three places, I will put three sets of figures in juxtaposition:—

| | Howrah. | Patna. | Motihari. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number of inhabitants . . . . | 90,813 | 173,000 | 11,000 |
| Number of persons who voted . . . | 1,667 | 2,285 | 313 |
| Proportion of persons who voted to whole population . . . . . | 1 in 54 | 1 in 75 | 1 in 35 |

And these returns, it must be remembered, are all from one province. Taking the whole of India, the average proportion of ratepayers to inhabitants appears from the returns to be about one-sixth, and the average of voters to ratepayers

between one-fourth and one-third. In many places the interest in the elections seems to be more active than in others; sometimes particular questions give rise to considerable excitement, and great independence is shown by the electors. In Bengal, the last Government report says, "There are unmistakable signs of a growing desire amongst the Hindoo population to elect better representative men, in the proper sense of the word, than formerly."[1]

The lists of voters are prepared by officials specially appointed, and the system appears to be fairly carried out. Take Delhi, for instance, which has about 174,000 inhabitants and is divided into fifteen wards. A ward-clerk goes round to each family and makes up the list from males of twenty-one years with an income of not less than ten rupees per month. This list is not printed, but is given to the Deputy-Commissioner, who keeps it open during a month for objections. Voting is open, a card being given to each voter, who hands it in on the day of election, saying for whom he intends to vote. As far as I could learn, no such iniquitous system of wholesale or frivolous objections exists in India as in our country, where every man is permitted to rob his neighbour of his vote for party purposes by taking advantage of his inability to attend the revision court, or by some contemptible quibble as to his description being inaccurate or his name incorrectly spelt. On the other hand, the natives are becoming adepts in our system of "squaring" candidates.

Last year a statement was circulated that at Umritsar the Hindoo and Mohammedan communities had arranged to fill up the municipal committee "with their relatives and favourites," and that independent candidates were compelled by unfair means to withdraw. The *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, of the 29th November 1888, said that it had made strict inquiries, and found that there was no truth in the complaints. The facts were simply that the two leading Mohammedan and Hindoo societies had "arranged" that there should be ten Hindoo and eight Mohammedan members, for the people did not want the "worry" of an election, and that only these eighteen names were handed in to the Deputy-Commissioner

[1] Report, p. 2.

and all were returned unopposed. The *Gazette* shall tell the rest of the story in its own words:—"The intentions of those who exerted themselves to secure this result were nearly frustrated by one Bhai Atma Singh on the Hindoo side and Mian Assadulla on the Mohammedan side sending applications at the eleventh hour. These did not reach the Deputy-Commissioner because both agreed to withdraw their applications, and they received them back from their respective representatives through the secretary of the municipality. . . . The change at the eleventh hour was probably brought about by the advice of persons who only wanted to see a *tamasha*" (what we should call a row). "It will be seen, at any rate, that the manner in which the election was carried out was really a sensible arrangement among the two leading communities; and, in all probability, a better selection than the eighteen gentlemen whose applications were thus received by the Deputy-Commissioner could not have been made." And yet the *Civil and Military Gazette*, after naïvely relating this judicious "arrangement," which reminds one of the palmiest days of the caucus, still continues to pronounce the natives of India unfit for representative government.

The powers and duties of the municipal committees vary somewhat in different localities, and, generally speaking, they are very important and extensive, as are also the means of raising a municipal revenue. Subject to the control of the Viceroy in Council, the latter is provided from a variety of sources—a tax on houses, buildings, and lands situated within the municipality, usually 7 per cent. on the annual value; licenses and taxes on persons exercising professions or carrying on trades or dealings in the municipalities (in Calcutta 50 to 100 rupees per annum, in Bengal generally 1 per cent. on the income); taxes on vehicles and animals of burden; octroi duties on goods or animals brought into the municipality for consumption; and other taxes which may be sanctioned by the Government.

The incidence of municipal taxation varies widely in different places. In Calcutta the total taxes levied by the municipality in 1887–88 amounted to about 7¼ rupees per head of the population; in the suburban district of Howrah, 2½ rupees; and in the rural municipalities of Bengal the income from

taxation varies from about two annas to about two rupees per head; but as a rule, the amount levied is considerably under a rupee per head. The octroi dues are levied upon almost every article of consumption or use. In the municipalities of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, for example, they may be and are usually levied on all kinds of grains, vegetables, fruits, groceries; on cattle, pigs, birds of all kinds; on oils, oilseeds, tallow, fuel of every description; on timber and every kind of building material; drugs, gums, spices and perfumes; tobacco, piece goods, cloth, gold and silver lace and materials, and metals. Sometimes the octroi tax is *ad valorem*, as on the more valuable commodities, but it is usually paid on the "*maund*" weight, and varies from three pice for cheap fuel, chaff, and straw to one rupee for butter.[1] Sometimes, from motives of policy, exemptions from taxation are made in particular cases; for instance, at the council meeting of 21st September 1888 in Delhi, it was resolved that grass-cutters' ponies for carrying grass, and bullocks or buffaloes used for agricultural purposes, such as ploughing, should be exempted from taxation. Objections to taxation are often made on the ground of poverty; these are generally overruled and rejected; but as far as I could judge from personal attendance at municipal meetings, from conversations with officials connected with the municipalities, and from a careful perusal of a considerable number of minutes of meetings in various places, the taxing powers seem to be exercised with great judgment and consideration for the means and necessities of the poorer classes. It appears to me, also, that the nomination of a certain number of candidates by the Government is far preferable to our Aldermanic system, under which the exigencies of party frequently force ignorant and prejudiced men who have been rejected by constituencies into town councils; whilst in India, as far as I could learn, the nominated members are usually well-informed persons, who keep the committee straight and prevent them from exceeding their powers, as they would otherwise frequently do.

[1] Lucknow Municipal Manual Schedule, A. p. 74. The *maund* varies in different parts of India, but in Calcutta and other places it is about 84 lbs. The rupee is divided into 16 annas, or 64 pice, or 192 pies.

The powers and functions of the committees are very multifarious and extensive. Besides performing the usual duties of our town councils at home, such as sanitation, paving, lighting, supervision of buildings, &c., they to a large extent exercise the functions of a School Board, and the schools they support are in many places admirably conducted—so well indeed, that, as I have already stated, the Government is trying to shift the entire responsibility and cost of education from the Imperial to the local treasuries. They assist also to maintain hospitals and dispensaries, and act so far in a medical capacity, and they exercise some influence upon the religious and moral action of the people, as illustrated by the power which they possess to regulate the localisation of places of worship, and by the prevention of open immorality, where they have the power of controlling the police or watchmen of the district. As to the police, I have already said that they are a discredit to our administration; indeed Lord Dufferin admitted as much in his valedictory address, and although I had not sufficient opportunities of forming a decided opinion of any value on this part of the subject, I cannot help thinking that in a great number of instances the police would be better under the control of the municipal committee.

Sanitation is very bad all over India, but vigorous efforts are being made to bring about improvements, and the difficulties in the way of reform are obvious to the most casual observer. One of the chief obstacles is the scarcity of water, another the conservative habits of the people themselves. Vaccination in many cases is exceedingly unpopular, and the officers have great difficulty in inducing parents to submit their children to the operation. The sewerage of the large towns is very defective. There are two methods—I don't know the exact expressions for them—but one is surface sewerage, and the other a more or less imperfect system of underground drainage. When I was at Ahmedabad, a party of about twenty-five native gentlemen honoured me with a visit to discuss various matters, social, sanitary, and political. Amongst them were the president of the municipality, many councillors, and medical men well acquainted with sanitary matters, and I soon found that, as in many old-fashioned places in England, there is a reforming

party and a "muck party" there. Both parties were ably represented at our interview, and were anxious to hear about sanitation in England, and to secure from my own opinions advocacy for their respective theories. To their opinions on political matters I will refer presently, and in regard to sanitation and municipal management I am bound to say that they are watching us with considerable attention, and are exceedingly anxious to profit by our experience.

The water supply in Indian towns is obtained from rivers, tanks, and wells, and in the latter case especially the water is often polluted. At Ahmedabad I found, on close inquiry, that some of the wells are badly cemented, and that liquid filth percolates into them from neighbouring latrines and urinals. In Delhi, during a tour of inspection which I made in the native city with a native member of the municipal committee, I was shown wells which are "sweet," and others not so. The sweet water was very good, the other I preferred to leave untasted. Large sums are often given by private individuals for the construction of tanks, and at Pubna the municipality contributed 1000 rupees "towards the acquisition of land required for Baboo Sukhi Nath Pramanick's Jubilee tank, and no water-rate is levied." (Her Majesty little knows what an amount of good she has done all over India by reigning fifty years!) Sometimes the tanks and the wells run dry; at others, after heavy rains, the water is unfit to drink. Wealthy people, who have ample well-accommodation, often allow the poor to draw water gratuitously. I think much of the disease in India must be due to the foul water which the natives sometimes drink. During a walking excursion in the Khyber Pass I felt thirsty, and my guide, a native soldier, led me to a puddle of filthy water, and seemed quite surprised when I refused to drink of it. I had several instances of the indifference of the natives to the quality of this beverage.

Where the refuse in towns is removed from the surface, it is generally done by casting it into channels in the streets, and these are regularly swept by sweepers, accompanied by a "*Bishti*" or water-carrier, who carries a large skin of water for the purpose, which he discharges into the channels. The dust is laid by the same process. In Delhi I inspected some of the

so-called underground sewers, which ran along under the side-pavement (Plate XIX.), and were open here and there for the discharge of refuse from the houses. My informant told me, if I remember right, that they were from the old Mughal period, were nearly-choked up, and were partially cleared once a year, or once every three years, as it was deemed requisite. In other places the sewer ran along under the middle of the street, and entering the narrow bye-streets and some of the houses, we followed the course of the drainage from the interiors of the latter to the street sewers. Here and there you see a kind of man-hole, in the shape of a surface slab, which is broken up and replaced after the sewer has been cleansed. In some of the larger towns there are proper arterial drains, as with us, but, generally speaking, the mode of removing refuse is very primitive. After removal by bullock-carts, it is sold for manure, or used to fill up insanitary tanks! As a rule, it may be said that every place of note contains ample bathing and washing accommodation in the shape of tanks, fountains, and baths, and these are in great request, for washing is a Hindoo religious observance. It is a pity, however, that the demand for soap is so limited.

The preceding review, however imperfect it may be, of the mode of election of municipal committees, and of their varied functions and duties, will, I hope, have justified my assertion that these institutions are a most valuable agency for the social and political advancement of the people, and before passing on to the consideration of political matters, it may be as well to give one or two illustrations of the influence they are already exercising in that direction. This influence is made manifest by their private utterances, and the unnoticed support which they are giving to the "Congress" movement, by the attendance of a large number of individual members at the meetings of that body, and, lastly, by the resolutions which are, though in rare instances, openly adopted by the corporations of such important places as Bombay and Calcutta. It is more especially of the first and last that I propose to speak in conclusion of this chapter.

Whilst in Calcutta, I attended a meeting of the municipal council, at which there was an animated debate on the ques-

tion of addresses to outgoing and incoming Viceroys. As I understood it, an address had been prepared by a sub-committee to be presented to Lord Lansdowne on his arrival, which contained what may be termed "native," or, as others would call them, "radical" sentiments. Whilst the address was on the *tapis*, Lord Dufferin, the departing Viceroy, had expressed disapproval, not so much of the Congress, as of some of the language employed by certain of its promoters, more especially by the secretary, Mr. Hume, and this had been seized upon by the official party and used against the Congress, with what effect we shall see hereafter. Upon this the sub-committee (or the chairman of the council, Sir H. Harrison) is said to have cut its cloth according to his pattern, and, in place of the native expression of opinion, to have substituted a little officialism, which appeared in these words at the close of the address:—

"Yours also to pass such truly conservative and constructive measures as will gradually and harmoniously broaden the foundations on which rests the undoubted loyalty of the people of India to the throne of our beloved Queen-Empress."[1]

This phraseology was vague enough to have satisfied every phase of opinion in the council, but the complaint was that the address in its changed form was not submitted to the general body before presentation, and it was only subsequently, at the meeting which I attended, after it had been presented, that it was brought up for confirmation. A Mr. Apcar, an Armenian by descent, moved that "in future the proceedings of a committee appointed for the purpose of preparing an address be submitted to the commissioners before the presentation of such address." His main object in doing so seemed to be to deliver an attack upon the chairman, which he did with needless discourtesy, and for which he was taken to task by the commissioners. Afterwards he withdrew his motion, but the council by a subsequent resolution quite confirmed its principle.

If I mistake not, in Bombay the council address was of a political character, and was strongly animadverted upon by

[1] The language used by some of the municipalities in regard to the Queen may be called loyal, but it is sometimes, to use a mild term, *very* effusive.

the official papers; but be that as it may, in the absence of any representative political body, such means are taken from time to time to give expression to native opinion.

And now in regard to the private views of municipal councillors. At the meeting at Ahmedabad to which reference has been made, after we had discussed education, sanitation, temperance, &c., one of the gentlemen asked me what people think of the Indian National Congress in England. I told them that until quite recently I thought the subject had not been at all considered, and was little understood, but I said, "It is of much more importance to people in England to know what you think of it here. Will the gentlemen present here who are supporters of or sympathisers with the Congress do me the favour to hold up their hands?" Every hand was held up excepting one, and I was told that the owner did not like to commit himself to such an avowal, although he too sympathised with the movement, because he held an official position of some delicacy. This incident, which occurred shortly after my arrival in India, caused me to inquire carefully into the views on the subject of the Congress held by members of the municipal committees and other natives holding representative positions in every town that I visited, and also as to how far such persons really possess the confidence of the masses—some would call them the ignorant masses—and I was surprised to find how much more widespread and deeply seated is the aspiration of the native community after representative government.

Now a word regarding the open advocacy of the Congress by public representatives of native communities; and here figures are more valuable than argument or personal investigation. The last meeting of the Congress at Allahabad was attended by 1248 delegates,[1] of whom 179 were members of municipal committees (including 31 chairmen and vice-chairmen) and 86 were members of District and Local Boards (including 17 chairmen and vice-chairmen), in all, 266 members of Municipal and District Councils, to say nothing of honorary magistrates, &c.; and many of them had travelled from distant

[1] It was thought during the meeting that there were about 1400, but the report of the Congress, which is prepared with great care, gives the correct number.

parts of India (not for the first time), from the Punjab or the furthest limits of the Madras Presidency, from those of Bombay and Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, to attend the meeting. These facts alone are sufficient to justify a close inquiry into the history, aims, action, and influence of the "Indian National Congress."

# CHAPTER XX.

## POLITICAL—THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

"What have we English to do in India?"—Anecdote—Native sympathy with English statesmen—The question answered—Rise and progress of the Indian National Congress—Mr. Hume, general secretary—His career and public character—History of the Congress—Its first meeting, Poona, 1885—The first president, Mr. Bonnerjee—Sketch of his life—Resolutions passed at the Congress—Ostensible and real aims of its supporters and opponents—Political views of English statesmen and officials in India—Second meeting, Calcutta, 1886—Great increase in number of delegates—The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, second president—His interesting career—Resolutions of second Congress—Commencement of official opposition—The third Congress, Madras, 1887—Continued increase of delegates—The Hon. Budruddin Tyabji, third president—Support by native princes—Criticism—Change of official demeanour and treatment of the Congress—Objectionable appendices to Congress Report—Reprehensible expressions—Sir Auckland Colvin and Mr. Hume—The Lieutenant-Governor's pronouncement—Increasing opposition to Congress—Sir Syed Ahmed—His inconsistency and hostility—(Note: Extract from his Life by Colonel Graham)—The Patriotic Association—Crisis in the Congress movement—Its collapse predicted—Election of Mr. Yule as president, and its consequences—Meetings for the election of delegates—Clever electioneering tactics—Meeting at Lucknow—Description of orators, speeches, and audience—Reception of Mr. Gladstone's name—The delegates—(Note: Fomenting disunion between Mohammedans and Hindoos)—Meeting at Agra—Description of proceedings—Schism amongst the Mohammedans—(Note: A prejudiced Englishman)—General conclusions.

How foolish it is to form hasty conclusions upon superficial observation in a foreign land; how much more indiscreet to proclaim one's impressions thus formed! Two or three days after my arrival in Bombay, I was rambling alone through a part of the native city. It was a religious festival, and the place was more than usually crowded; so much so, that I had difficulty now and then in making my way through the mass of dark-skinned half-naked Hindoos. As I halted from time to time to watch the artisans at work, or to look at the

# THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

THE HON. DADABHAI NAOROJI,
Ex-President.

GEORGE YULE, Esq.,
President.

W. C. BONNERJEE, Esq. (Middle Temple),
Ex-President.

holiday-makers lounging and smoking in their open shop-fronts, the thought occurred to me, "What have we English to do here?" for I had not met a single European in the course of my ramble. On my return to Watson's Hotel (Frontispiece), I mentioned my reflections to an English acquaintance, and he took me to task for my want of patriotism, adding that he hoped I would not repeat that remark to any of the natives. Many weeks afterwards the question I had put to myself was satisfactorily answered. It was the 29th of December; I had been through a great part of Northern India, had tramped on foot in the Khyber Pass from Jamrúd to Ali-Musjid and back, had inspected the remains of almost every period of Indian history, had associated with Englishmen and natives of every class and denomination, and found myself seated a "distinguished visitor" in the vast pavilion of the Indian National Congress, which had sprung up, as it were, under the wave of a magician's wand in the grounds of Lowther Castle at Allahabad. "Distinguished" I certainly was in one sense, in being one of three or four Englishmen not resident in India who had ventured to attend the sittings of the Congress, two others being Mr. Caine, M.P. for Barrow, and Mr. W. Digby, C.I.E., secretary to the "Indian Political Agency" in London. It was, as I have said, the 29th of December. I had already noticed that the only language which was universally understood in that vast assemblage, which consisted of about 1250 delegates of every creed, rank, and nationality from all parts of India, besides a couple of thousand local spectators, was our own tongue. Suddenly, in the midst of the proceedings, the British president, Mr. George Yule, rose and announced that it was the anniversary of the birthday of William Ewart Gladstone, when cheer upon cheer rent the air. The president next said that it was proposed to send a congratulatory telegram to Mr. Gladstone, and he wished to know if it was the pleasure of the Congress that it should be sent. A fresh burst of cheering was the response. Thereupon the president stated that the following would be the text of the telegram:—"To W. E. Gladstone, M.P., from president of Fourth National Congress assembled at Allahabad from all parts of India, composed of 1400

delegates,[1] congratulates you on your eightieth birthday, and hopes that you will live to enjoy many happy returns of the day." Tremendous cheering followed the reading of the message. Handkerchiefs were waved, and a scene of wild confusion reigned for a few minutes before order was restored. On the day previous to this occurrence, a somewhat similar message, in this case, however, one of sympathy, had been dispatched from the same assemblage to Mr. Albert Bright concerning the illness of his father, the news of which had just been received; and these manifestations of feeling towards two veteran English statesmen, who have always been regarded as the friends of India, coupled with the cheers which were given from time to time for the "Queen-Empress," emanating as they did from a vast audience, which comprised the cream of the native intellect and eloquence of our great dependency, fully answered my self-propounded inquiry, "What have we to do in India?"

The Indian National Congress was established in the year 1885, after the departure from India of the Marquis of Ripon, whose popularity may be said to have been its foundation-stone. Lord Ripon was, and is still, the idol of the natives of India; he had shaken off the last fetters of the native press, and, through the so-called "Ilbert Bill," had removed one of the most glaring inequalities between the governing and the governed races. His departure from India was made the occasion of a demonstration, in which the inhabitants of the whole Empire participated, and it suggested the idea to a few prominent native citizens of founding a permanent association for the furtherance of the interests of their countrymen. The first active promoter of the Congress movement was, however, a Briton, Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, its present secretary, who has not only expended considerable sums of money, but has devoted much labour and energy to the cause. Mr. Hume was born about the year 1829, and is one of the sons of the late "Joe Hume," the well-known political economist. He went out to India in the Covenanted Civil Service in 1849, was district magistrate of Etowah during the mutiny, and for

[1] As I have explained, the correct number of delegates present was not known until after the meeting.

his distinguished services in that crisis he received a Companionship of the Bath. Subsequently he was secretary to the Government of India, first in the Revenue and Agricultural, and then in the Home Department. He retired from the Civil Service in 1882, but settled in India, and resides at Rothney Castle, Simla. It is a delicate matter to speak even of a man's public character during his lifetime in a work of this description, but the important position held by Mr. Hume, and by two or three more of the active members of the Congress, renders some criticism necessary in order to enable the reader to judge the movement with fairness. As already stated, the Congress owes its existence largely to Mr. Hume's energy and industry, which qualities he appears to have inherited from his father; and his prominent position has naturally made him many enemies amongst the opponents of the movement. By these he is called a vain intriguer, his action is said to be prompted by spite against the Government, and disappointment at neglect. These charges, which have led to offensive reflections in the House of Commons, are entirely without foundation, so far as I could ascertain from disinterested persons in India, and one straightforward English official of high position at Calcutta told me that Lord Lytton had even offered him (Mr. Hume) the temporary Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab, but that he had refused it on account of his wife's ill-health. He is, however, very impulsive, by no means discreet, is too apt to consider that "Le Congrès c'est moi," and to act accordingly. Indeed, there are many even of his friends who say that he nearly wrecked the whole movement last year by his independent action. He is, however, thoroughly honest and sincere in his acts and motives. The first meeting of the Congress in 1885 is due to his initiative. He went about from place to place consulting and arranging with leading natives, and settled with the authorities of Poona that the first meeting should be held there. Owing to the existence of cholera, however, the place of meeting was transferred to Bombay, where seventy-two gentlemen met from Karachi, Surat, Poona, Calcutta, Agra, Benares, Lucknow, Lahore, Allahabad, Ahmedabad, Bombay, Madras, Tanjore, and several other places in India, and having constituted them-

selves the nucleus of a larger organisation, they spent three days in the discussion of questions affecting the interests of the native community, and in passing resolutions thereon. The president of the first Congress was Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, of Calcutta, concerning whom a few words will be of interest, as he too has devoted much money, and what to him is of greater value than money, namely, time and thought, to the Congress movement.

Mr. Bonnerjee was born December 29, 1844, and is, therefore, comparatively a young man, but he is already an advocate of the High Court of Bengal, enjoying, I was told, a practice second only to the largest in the country. He comes of an old Brahmin family, but has broken away from the customs and religion of his forefathers, without adopting a new one, like many more of his fellow-countrymen. He was educated in the Oriental seminary at Calcutta in the Hindoo School, and following the profession of the law, he came to England, and was called to the bar of the Middle Temple. So extensive is his private practice, that he has refused a judgeship of the High Court of Calcutta, and also a seat in the Bengal Council. During my stay in India I saw a good deal of Mr. Bonnerjee, and heard him speak both in the Congress and in his professional capacity in the Supreme Court. He is a pleasing and attractive though an unpretending speaker, and his association with the English bar has imparted to his address a much more refined tone than is usual with the natives. He is an enthusiastic "Congress-Wallah," his chief fault being that he under-estimates the worth of those public men who differ from him, and, what is less surprising, that his experience of the courtesy and kindness of Englishmen at home has embittered him somewhat against their fellow-countrymen in India. He is, however, held in high esteem by the official class and by professional men in Calcutta and elsewhere, has a most kindly disposition, is moderate in his advocacy of the native cause, and although he is almost dark enough to please Lord Salisbury, he is possessed of a handsome presence (Plate XXIII.).

Both the promoters and the opponents of the Congress appear to me to have been somewhat insincere in their osten-

sible declarations and proposals, although there can be little doubt concerning the real objects they have in view. On both sides £ s. d. is one of the chief considerations, the securing or retention of power and influence another; both are pursuing—

"The simple plan,
That he should take who has the power,
And he should keep who can."

The first resolution of the 1885 meeting, which was supported by gentlemen of unquestioned standing, asked for a fulfilment of the "promised inquiry into the working of Indian administration," and suggested the appointment of a Royal Commission, "the people of India being adequately represented thereon, and evidence taken both in India and England."

(In 1874 this was the request of the Irish Home Rulers. What would not our statesmen—Tory, Liberal-Unionist, and Liberals—give to-day if they could recall the time when the Irish demand was so limited!)

The meeting also "considered the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms." "An expansion of the supreme and local legislative councils by the admission of a considerable number of elected members" was another reform which "was considered essential." Modifications of the competitive examinations, "in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860," which would place natives as far as possible on a footing of equality with British candidates, was another recommendation; and others followed deprecating increased military expenditure, counselling retrenchment, protesting against the annexation of Burma as opposed to the interests of the natives of India.

These declarations on the part of the Congress, which have been repeated time after time at succeeding Congresses, really mean what I have said—constitutional and indeed representative government, and a larger share of office for the native community. "Indirectly," said the first report, "this conference will form the germ of a native Parliament, and if

properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions."[1]

The less vehement and impassioned opponents of the Congress have advanced as the most plausible objections to this programme that there is no elective body in India from whom representatives could be chosen, and that the demands put forward by the Congress represent the views of a small body of agitators clamouring for office for themselves. As a matter of fact, however, the real views and feelings of the governing classes in India come under one or more of the following heads. First, those who hold—

That the only government possible for India, both in the interest of the British as well as of the natives, and as a protection against Russia, is a despotism.

That any concessions to native opinion will interfere with that despotism.

That the authority and domination of the officials must not be interfered with.

That if such concessions are made, they will only serve as an opening for further demands, the object being ultimately to overthrow the Government, and that the leading natives have that aim in view.

On the other hand, there is a considerable section of the official class whose views are more moderate. These hold that there are abuses which should be remedied voluntarily and by the grace of the Government; but they, too, consider the Congress a dangerous and seditious movement, which should not be countenanced or encouraged.

I do not for a moment mean to say that there are not many individual statesmen and officials who take a much broader and more liberal view of the situation, and who are prepared to admit that our first duty is towards the natives of the country, and I am convinced that in the long-run their policy will prevail; but so far as the vast majority of Anglo-Indians are concerned, they come under one of the two categories named, and at this conclusion I have arrived, not from hearsay, but from the oral and written views of prominent

[1] Proceedings of the First Indian National Congress, held in Bombay, p. 5.

English officials which came or were brought under my notice whilst I was in the country.

Having stated what appear to be the real aims and views of the Congress party and of its opponents, we will now return to the history of the movement. The second meeting of the Congress was held in Calcutta during the Christmas week of 1886, and the delegates, of whom there were 431 from various parts of India, including 17 from the Punjab, had been nominated by various associations and societies, some of which had been called into existence in the interim by the movement itself, which was therefore spreading rapidly. Here the election of president brought into prominent notice the Honourable Dadabhai Naoroji, Lord Salisbury's "black man," who is, however, as white as any Englishman. He was the second president, a Parsee, who has spent a considerable time in this country (Plate XXIII.). He was born in 1825, of an old Parsee family in Guzerat, and has at various periods of his life filled the posts of Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Elphinstone College (1851–55); partner in the firm of Cama & Co., Liverpool (where I met him at a discussion between Mr. Bradlaugh and Rev. Dr. Baylee, Principal of St. Aidan's College); first Minister to the late Gaekwar of Baroda (1875); and member of the Legislative Council of Bombay (1885). In 1886 he contested Holborn (West Finsbury), and is at present the Gladstonian or Liberal candidate for Clerkenwell (Central Finsbury).

From these few particulars of his chequered career it is obvious that Mr. Naoroji is a man of extended experience, but they give no idea of his useful life, nor of the esteem in which he is held by his fellow-countrymen. He founded many useful institutions in Bombay; has received a testimonial consisting of a purse of 20,000 rupees, the greater part of which he devoted to public uses; started a respectable journal, the *Rast Goftar*, which still exists; and has published literary treatises and pamphlets on various subjects of interest in connection with India. Some of the latter are perhaps too partisan, and have led him into controversies with officials, but there is no doubt that Mr. Naoroji is a true patriot, and he is regarded as

an authority on matters affecting the condition and prospects of India.)

At the Calcutta meeting an attempt was made to meet the objection already referred to, that there are no regular constituencies in India to elect the representatives with whom it was proposed to strengthen the Supreme and Legislative Councils. It was suggested that they should be chosen by municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce, and Universities; that "all great interests" should be adequately represented; and (recalling the royal proclamation) that no distinction of creed, race, or colour should interfere with the choice of councillors. The old resolutions were reaffirmed, and another was added calling for the reform of what is perhaps the most crying abuse in India, namely, for the complete separation of the judicial and legislative functions, which are now often vested in the same individual, and which frequently constitute one and the same official informer, detective, prosecutor, and judge and jury in his own person.

About this time the cry was first raised that the Congress was purely a Hindoo agitation, and that, as in the parallel case of the Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, it was an attempt on the part of the Hindoos to bring the Mohammedan minority under subjection. At the third Congress, therefore, which met at Madras in 1887, the promoters recommended and the delegates elected a Mohammedan chairman in the person of the Honourable Budruddin Tyabji. That gentleman is also a barrister of the Middle Temple, about forty-seven years of age, and is a good speaker; he was called in 1865, and has an extensive practice in Bombay. As stated, he is a Mohammedan, and is secretary to the Anjuman or Mohammedan Institution, a Justice of the Peace, and, like Mr. Naoroji, was formerly a member of the Legislative Council of Bombay. He not only takes a great interest in Mussulman education, but his name is to be found on the committees of such institutions as the Victoria Jubilee Institute.[1]

At the Madras Congress 607 delegates were present, some from the northernmost limits of the Empire, and it was rendered

[1] I am sorry not to be able to append a photograph of Mr. Tyabji, the third president, nor of Mr. Hume, the secretary of the Congress.

conspicuous by the announcement that some of the more influential native princes, amongst whom were the Maharajahs of Mysore and Travancore, and a long list of leading men of all creeds, had contributed sums of money varying from 200 to 1000 rupees towards the expenses of the Congress. A question, which had evidently been prompted, was recently asked in the House of Commons, as to whether the Government was aware that "a large number of native princes" are opposed to the Congress, and "what was the Government going to do?"

Nothing, of course.

It has always been a matter of surprise to me that, looking at the influence which the Government exercises over the native princes, and the protestations of loyalty which are made from time to time by the latter, so many of them should have shown their sympathy with the Congress, and that the cause of reaction should have been relegated to such potentates as the Rajahs of Bhinga and Benares. It speaks well for our rule in India that it should be so; and it would be most impolitic for the Government to place itself on the horns of a dilemma by using any influence, or in any way preventing the princes from giving such support to the Congress as they think proper. On what grounds should they interfere? If it be sedition that prompts the sympathy of the native princes, how about their loyalty to the British Crown? If, on the other hand, it is honest conviction that the people are suffering and that reforms are needed, it would be asked, Where is the advantage of enlightened British rule?

The fourth Congress was held in Allahabad last year (1888), but before it assembled there, events had occurred which amounted to a crisis in its history. Up to the third meeting the higher officials, the Lieutenant-Governors and their immediate surroundings, had treated the Congress much as the authorities in England treat the British Association, the Royal Agricultural Society, or the Trades Union Congress, and receptions and garden-parties were the order of the day; but suddenly officialism seems to have taken fright, and, thanks to the indiscretion of the general secretary, Mr. Hume, an opportunity was soon afforded for the loud expression of this feeling.

In the first place, Mr. Hume, to whose indefatigable energy the publication of the voluminous reports is due, had appended to that of the Madras meeting two appendices, one being the English translation of a so-called "Catechism" of the National Congress, namely, a series of questions and answers explanatory of its objects; and the other an imaginary conversation between a native barrister and the head-man of a village, in which the merits of constitutional rule *versus* despotism were freely discussed, greatly to the disparagement of the latter. The originals had been largely circulated throughout the whole of India.

That Mr. Hume can have had no malicious nor seditious intentions in this matter is obvious from the fact that even in England this report with the appendices was distributed broadcast, and, unless it is out of print, any one of my readers can purchase a copy in London.[1] Still the language of these productions, especially of the second, is, to say the least, very inconsiderate and unfortunately chosen. To take the expressions which have been so often quoted, they should never have issued from the pen or have secured the countenance of a discreet patriotic Englishman, and certainly not of a gentleman holding Mr. Hume's responsible position:—

"*Rambaksh* (the head-man). But surely you don't want us to join together and fight the Sirkar. If we killed all the Europeans, how should we get along? All would be anarchy. You cannot mean this.

"*Molvi Farid-ud-din* (the adviser). God forbid! this would be a sin. Why should we kill the poor Europeans? Many of them are really good men; most of them mean, at any rate, to do right," &c., &c.

This reminds one of the election incident where the successful candidate is being mobbed and his opponent calls out, "For heaven's sake, don't throw him into the pond!" The very mention of killing his fellow-countrymen made to ignorant peasants, in the midst of whom some conscientious official is perhaps leading a solitary and unprotected existence, is of itself bad, but when it is accompanied by the recital of the abuses, many of them no doubt real enough, under which the

[1] Report of the Third Indian National Congress, held at Madras. London: Talbot Bros. and Hamilton Adams. 2s. 1888.

natives are said to suffer, to them it becomes a suggestion, and that along with the sneers at the efforts which are made by the Government to improve the position of the people,[1] has been justly, and not at all too severely, condemned: and by his subsequent independent action Mr. Hume practically invited this censure. Having heard that Sir Auckland Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, was personally inimical to the Congress, Mr. Hume wrote to him on his own responsibility, and asked him whether it was true that he, the Lieutenant-Governor, desired to ruin all who took a prominent part in it, and would favour all who opposed it. To this letter Sir Auckland sent a courteous reply, in which, whilst he repudiated any hostility to the Congress, he plainly expressed his disapproval of the language used in the two appendices referred to above, but admitted that he was "*entirely at one with the Congress party in desiring extension on some broader basis than at present obtains of the Legislative Councils; a measure, for the rest, which had been before the minds of the high authorities in this country before the Congress party had been heard of and is independent of their initiative.*" (I have italicised these words, of which I beg the reader to take particular note, as we shall have to reconsider the matter hereafter.) Mr. Hume at once sent a long controversial reply to Sir Auckland and published the two letters in pamphlet form, in which Sir Auckland's letter occupies nineteen, and Mr. Hume's reply forty-eight pages.[2]

But it is quite true that Sir Auckland Colvin and all about him were treating the Congress movement in a very different spirit from that to which they had been accustomed. I heard of his practically refusing to open a new building for a native literary club at Lucknow because the members were known to sympathise with the Congress, and it is quite certain that at Allahabad every difficulty was thrown in the way of the Congress managers to prevent the holding of the meeting. Again, he and other officials patted on the back Sir Syed Ahmed, the principal of the Mohammedan College at Aligarh, who had

[1] Report, p. 207.

[2] "Aude Alteram Partem;" being Two Letters on Certain Aspects of the Indian National Congress Movement. Simla: Station Press.

started an opposition movement amongst the Mohammedans which called itself the "Patriotic Association." This gentleman, a man of high culture and education, was formerly an enthusiastic advocate of the very reforms and constitutional changes which the Congress was endeavouring to promote, but after making speeches in the cause of reform all over India, he (having in the interim been made a K.C.S.I.) was not above giving offensive public expression to very unfriendly feelings towards the Hindoos, which the discretion of their English opponents led them to reserve for their private dinner-tables.

I have already said the reprehensible language of the appendices to the report and Mr. Hume's independent action appeared likely, when they were followed by the published condemnation of the Lieutenant-Governor, to threaten the very existence of the Congress, and I heard many misgivings amongst the natives themselves in various places which I was visiting about the time as to whether it would be permitted to reassemble. The official press clamoured loudly for its suppression, and some of the more friendly English papers began to change their tone and to condemn its proceedings. Meanwhile it had occurred to some of the members of the managing committee that, having been presided over by a Hindoo, a Parsee, and a Mohammedan, it would be wise and politic to invite a Briton to take the chair at the next Congress, and consequently Mr. George Yule, of Calcutta and London, was induced to fill the office. This acceptance of the presidency of the Congress by an Englishman (or more correctly a Scotchman), the opposition it had encountered from the official classes, the abuse which had been heaped upon it and upon the secretary by a section of the English press, and the deep-seated and wide-spread desire for constitutional rule amongst the educated and thinking portion of the native com-

1 *Vide* the "Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan," by Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, B.S.C. Blackwood. Chapters iv., vii., &c., especially at p. 86, where, speaking of the introduction of natives to the Supreme Council, he says:—"The day is not far distant, I trust, and when it does come you will remember my words, when that Council will be composed of representatives *from every division or district*, and that thus the laws which it will pass will be laws enacted by the feelings of the entire country." He even attributed the mutiny to the absence of native representative institutions (p. 36).

munity all tended to give a new impulse to the movement, and imparted to it a more truly national character than it had previously possessed.

It may be convenient here to inquire in what manner the delegates to the Congress are elected, for upon that depends largely the *bonâ fide* character of the movement, and the influence which it is likely to exercise in the future. With this object I was not content to accept the statements of partisans or opponents who exaggerated or minimised the extent of the *élection* as it suited their particular views, but I attended one or two meetings myself, and received the reports of unbiassed friends who had themselves been present when the delegates were elected. The meetings are advertised by public placards, which I saw displayed in different towns, just as with us party meetings are called at election times; they are open to all comers, and if wire-pulling and acquaintance with political tactics are to be taken as a criterion, English rule in India and the perusal of English newspapers have certainly been most effective agents of political education. At the meeting for the election of delegates at Lucknow, December 19, 1888, which was held in the open air in a large garden, there were about 400 persons present; they were all adults, belonging to various denominations, and were apparently all educated men. Many of them represented religious and educational societies, numbering several hundred members.

As the charge had been brought against the Congress of wishing to ride roughshod over the Mohammedans, a great point was made at this meeting of electing a considerable number of Mohammedan delegates, and a Mohammedan gentleman, a relative of the old royal family of Oudh, was called to the chair. For the rest, if you had shut your eyes, so as not to see the Oriental costumes of the audience (which, by the way, were very picturesque), and had made allowance for the slightly foreign accent of some of the speakers, you might have imagined yourself at an English party-meeting. It may be said generally that the English residents of India, more especially the official classes, both civil and military, are Tories. Many call themselves "Imperialists," but, as a rule, their views are Conservative, whilst nearly all the native politicians are Liberals;

and at this meeting it was quite curious to hear the cheers, "hear, hears," and applause for Gladstone and Ripon, and the hisses for Salisbury and Syed Ahmed! The audience consisted of every class of the community, and the speakers were of different denominations—Hindoos, Mohammedans, and native Christians. The prominent orators had been judiciously selected; indeed, the whole meeting had evidently been organised by experienced wire-pullers. One speaker was a Hindoo zamindar, who spoke rapidly and fluently, and several times "brought down the house." He was frequently interrupted by "hear, hear," and clapping of the hands. A Mohammedan barrister also spoke with considerable effect, and if the views which he expressed are at all widespread, the day will come when the various nationalities in India will see through the *divide et impera* policy of some of the leading officials.[1] This speaker introduced Mr. Gladstone's name just as it is done with us at party meetings, and with the same signs of approval. Then there was the "wit," whose humorous sallies provoked roars of laughter. One hundred and two delegates were chosen, their names and titles being read aloud. They consisted of 57 Mohammedans, 36 Hindoos, 4 native Christians, 1 Eurasian, 1 European, and 3 who were specially noted as Brahmins. Of these delegates, some had been chosen by five local societies, numbering together 780 members, one being a Mohammedan society with 340 members. Amongst them were zamindars, bankers (so called), pleaders, journalists, traders, &c., and this may be considered typical of the general character of many of the meetings. An English friend (not of my political creed), a shrewd politician, thoroughly conversant with such matters, who was present at a meeting at Agra, which was also advertised and open to the public, gave me an account of it, from which I could see that it was almost a counterpart of the one at Lucknow. He estimated that there were about 600 persons present, including a small sprinkling of Mohammedans, with a prominent member

[1] The reader must not imagine that my remarks on this policy are the result of hearsay. I heard a prominent member of the Viceroy's Council make use of expressions at a public meeting of Mohammedans which were quite needlessly calculated to breed ill-will and foment dissension between them and the Hindoos, remarks which were justly characterised by a Hindoo gentleman who was present with me as "exceedingly reprehensible."

of the latter body in the chair. The wire-puller there was a smart little Hindoo pleader, who first read the resolutions of the previous Congress, and explained its objects in excellent English, then in Urdu. The same kind of people were chosen as delegates, and the same point was made of including a considerable number of Mohammedans. Of one fact I became convinced, both from attendance at and from inquiries concerning the district meetings, as well as from observation at the Congress itself, namely, that whatever may be the nature of the relations existing between the Hindoos and Mohammedans, there is an undoubted schism in the latter body, many of whom cordially sympathise with the Congress.[1]

It is, of course, difficult, as it would be injudicious, to draw any general conclusion concerning the representative character of the district meetings all over India from what one sees in the towns, but those who are acquainted with great political agitations know very well that there is a good deal of unreality attached to those in our own country. It is not difficult to believe, therefore, that there are outlying places in India where a few sympathisers would meet together, and, constituting themselves an "election committee," would choose one of their number to represent such and such a place; but this must be regarded as so much discount to be deducted from a rapidly increasing national movement; and in order that the reader may be made as fully acquainted as possible with its present aspects, I will now invite him to accompany me to Allahabad, where he will have the opportunity of attending one of its interesting annual assemblages.

[1] To show how ludicrously ignorant and prejudiced some of the English residents are on this subject, I will mention an incident that came under my notice. One day at the Allahabad meeting, at which there must have been between three and four thousand present, a Mohammedan gentleman had just taken his seat after delivering a very animated address, when a young Englishman came in with a lady and sat down just behind me, and immediately said, loud enough for every one around to hear, "Ah! just as I expected. Nothing but Baboos. Not a Mohammedan amongst them!"

# CHAPTER XXI.

## POLITICAL—THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (*concluded*)—LORD DUFFERIN'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

The Congress meeting at Allahabad—Comparative number of delegates at successive Congresses—Description of the grounds—Of the central pavilion—A fairy scene—The meetings open to all—Mr. George Yule, the president—Account of him—His popularity—President's address—Its moderation and practical character—Proceedings of the Congress—Resolution against the Arms Act—Reference to speakers—The dangers of demagogism—Absurdity of the resolution—Raja Siva Prasad—A wolf in sheep's clothing—His attack on the Congress—Mr. Norton's humorous explanation—Forbearance of the meeting—Indian oratory—A bore—Further references to speakers and resolutions—Mr. Bonnerjee's advice to the Congress—The next meeting, at Bombay—The author's impressions—Lord Dufferin's after-dinner speech—His qualified support of the Congress—His recommendations and suggestions—Mistaken views of natives concerning him—Inaction of the Home authorities—Lord Lansdowne's Budget speech—Nominal concessions—Permission to Supreme Council to criticise the Budget—Contemplated concession regarding restricted right to interpellate—Blue Book in defence of Indian policy.

THE meeting of the Indian National Congress at Allahabad, which, as I have already said, was held last year in the extensive grounds of Lowther Castle, was certainly one of the most remarkable demonstrations that I have ever witnessed either in the Old or New World. It was a huge camp, comprising, besides Lowther Castle itself, which is an old mansion, used on this occasion as the central offices, and a magnificent pavilion about 150 feet by 100 feet in measurement, a number of blocks of tents, in which the delegates who attended the meeting were accommodated.

If there were no other evidence of the growth and import-

ance of the movement, it would be found in the rapidly increasing number of the delegates:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| At the first Congress in 1885 there were | . | 72 delegates. |
| At the second Congress in 1886 there were | . | 431 ,, |
| At the third Congress in 1887 there were | . | 607 ,, |
| And at the fourth meeting in 1888 there were | . | 1248 ,, |

the last number having met together in face of the strenuous opposition of the official classes. The delegates came from every part of India, from the Punjab to Madras, from Bombay to Calcutta,[1] and it was quite easy to find any community or any particular individual by inquiring in which of the seven blocks the community was located. Briefly stated, every possible convenience suited to the various habits and religious customs of the delegates was provided in the grounds, including even separate medical men for Europeans or those who lived in English fashion, for Hindoos, and for Mohammedans. Of course there was telegraphic communication, and every morning a special edition of the *Morning Post* was published and sold in the grounds, giving a full account of the previous day's proceedings. It was a most fascinating sight to wander amongst these tents, which included refreshment tents and a "drawing-room" tent; to see, as it were, the whole of our vast dependency, with its varied costumes, castes, and customs, all concentrated in one canvas city, and to encounter here and there, and be cordially greeted by intelligent men whom one had met hundreds upon hundreds of miles away in some distant part of the Empire. But after all, the chief attraction was the spacious pavilion, which was calculated to seat comfortably 4000 persons, delegates and spectators. It was built partially of brick and plaster, and was ornamented with decorations peculiarly Indian in their conception and execution, forming most pleasing combinations of colour. In the centre of the building there were four pillars surmounted by arches forming a square, at each corner of which appeared framed

[1] A full list, with their residences, occupations, &c., will be found in the last Report of the Congress, price one shilling, published by Hamilton Adams; Talbot Brothers; the Indian Political Agency, Craven Street, London; Menzies, Edinburgh; Gill, Dublin; Heywood, Manchester.

portraits of the Queen-Empress or of the Prince of Wales. Within this square stood the president's table, surrounded by the seats of the delegates and the press, and outside, still under cover of one continuous roof, space was reserved for visitors to the Congress and for the general public. The interior, which was crowded to its fullest capacity day by day, and was open to the fresh breezes on every side, was profusely ornamented with wreaths and festoons of flowers, with folds of ribbon, red, green, and white—the Congress colours—twining round the pillars, and with plants and flowers such as India alone can produce. These decorations, natural and artificial, coupled with the chandeliers of variegated colours pendant from the ceiling, and the great assemblage of delegates and spectators in their holiday robes and head-gear of every kind, presented a scene which baffles all description, and must be sought in the marvellous imaginings of Eastern story.

The Congress has been called seditious, but if it be so, it is certainly not "privy conspiracy," for open as the building was on all sides to the winds of heaven, so open were its proceedings to the outer world; and the privileged English residents, many of them its ill-wishers and opponents, not only availed themselves of the opportunity to witness its proceedings, but occasionally, with more freedom than good taste, indulged in open manifestations of disapproval.

But now let us turn from the spectators to the actors. The president, Mr. George Yule, sat at an elevated table, surrounded by the leading members of the Congress, including the ex-president, Mr. Bonnerjee, and Mr. Hume, the secretary, who, although he was the moving spirit of the Congress, kept modestly in the background during the whole of the four days of the meeting, and only came forward at last to make some official announcement, and to receive a complete ovation from the audience.

The president, who is about sixty years of age, is a wealthy and highly esteemed merchant of Calcutta and London (Plate XXIII.). He has been president of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Sheriff of Calcutta (in which capacity he devoted all his fees to educational objects), and has held other prominent positions. In business, Mr. Yule is largely interested in

cotton and jute mills, and he has handsome residences on the banks of the Hughli and in one of the suburbs of London. He is a Scotchman, with the cautious disposition of his countrymen, is a quiet, telling speaker, and, although the opponents of the Congress predicted that the moderation of his political views would make him unpopular with the assemblage, his presidential address was not only received with great enthusiasm by those who heard it, but it secured for him the goodwill of the whole body of educated natives of the country. Of the latter fact I had ocular demonstration in the crowds of his admirers who greeted him in true Indian fashion at several of the railway stations on his return journey to Calcutta, which we performed together; indeed, I think it was at Patna that the large carriage in which we travelled was half-filled with wreaths and bouquets which were either presented to him at the door or thrown in at the windows.

The president's address was just what might have been expected from a man of discretion and business capacity. It contained an interesting review of the political history of India under British rule, with some passing references to the condition of this country under the Plantagenets, and down to a period a hundred years since, when "not more than one man in ten nor one woman in twenty knew how to read and write."[1] The change which, on behalf of the Congress, he now advocated was one of extreme moderation, and was, he said, far within the limits that the circumstances of the country, in his opinion, would justify. He desired "no sudden snapping of existing ties, only the loosening of the bonds;" indeed, to put the matter practically, he said, "We want the Legislative Councils to be expanded to an extent that will admit of the representation of the various interests of the country as far as it may be practical. We want half the Councils to be elected, the other half to be in the appointment of Government, and we are willing that the right of veto should be with the Executive; we also want the right of interpellation. This is the substance of our wants."

The remainder of the address, which was throughout brief and to the point, was devoted to suggestions as to how these

[1] Quoting Professor Thorold Rogers.

ends could be best accomplished, and to an after-dinner speech of Lord Dufferin, the retiring Viceroy (which will be dealt with hereafter), and the whole wound up with a peroration of great force and eloquence. In the course of his concluding remarks, he said that no rational mind could believe that the present system can go on for ever, and he trusted that a measure would soon be introduced "which would unite England and India, not by the hard and brittle bonds of arbitrary rule which may snap in a moment, but by the flexible and more enduring ligaments of common interests promoted, common duties discharged, by means of a common service chosen with some regard to the principles of representative government."

The president's address practically concluded the first day's session of the Congress, which was prolonged three days more, chiefly in reaffirming the resolutions of the preceding Congresses. It would be impossible in these pages to follow the arguments of the various speakers, numbering altogether close upon a hundred, in support of the different resolutions; and this is much to be regretted, for many of them delivered orations which would have been a credit to any assemblage of statesmen. Of certain phases of the movement I have already spoken in treating of education, of law and police, and of social questions, and the remarks of some of the speakers have been already quoted in the chapters devoted to those subjects, but there were two incidents in the course of the proceedings which are deserving of special notice, as throwing light upon the sentiment and temper of the assemblage. One of these referred to the right of the natives to carry arms; the other was the presence at and performance of an opponent of the Congress.

According to an existing Act (XI. of 1878), natives are not permitted to carry arms, a privilege which is granted to Europeans, and a resolution was proposed, "That, in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardship which the present Arms Act causes, and the unmerited slur which it casts upon the people of this country, the Government be moved to modify the provisions of Chapter IV., and, if necessary, other portions of the said Act as shall enable all persons to possess

and wear arms, unless debarred therefrom either as individuals or members of particular communities or classes by orders of the Government of India (or any local authority empowered by the Government of India on that behalf), for reasons to be recorded in writing and duly published."

Speaking in favour of this resolution, Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimji, the most energetic and influential lecturer of the Congress, said, amongst other things, "A native of the West Indies, a black man, who might be his, Mr. Bhimji's servant, could carry arms, whilst he himself could not;" and Mr. Ferozeshah Mehta, an advocate of the High Court (called to the bar of Lincoln's Inn), in extensive practice at Bombay, supported the resolution "simply on sentimental grounds;" whilst Mr. Kennedy moved its rejection, and was seconded by the Hon. K. T. Telang, also an advocate called to the English bar,[1] who showed how likely it would be, if all persons were to have arms, that many murders would occur in consequence of firearms being used in fights where now less deadly weapons were employed. But the matter was decided by the fiery and eloquent speech of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji,[2] who spoke of "disloyalty being gone in India," of the Congress "teeming with loyalty, teeming with devotion, teeming with patriotism," and who defended the resolution both on sentimental grounds and "on behalf of every artisan and every one who desired to protect life and property." Notwithstanding warning voices from other men of influence, the resolution was carried by a very large majority amidst great cheering.

Before saying a few words concerning this resolution, I would like to point to two lessons which the proceeding inculcates. First, that it is undesirable to ignore "sentimental considerations in India" as they have been scouted in Ireland; secondly, that it is unwise to do anything that will diminish the authority of those influential citizens by whom the movement is at present guided with moderation and patriotism. This might perhaps be effected by a judicious distribution of K.C.S.I.'s, or by frowns and neglect, but the result would

[1] Since raised to the Bench of the Supreme Court.
[2] Not Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, the first president.

be the transference of the leadership from the "educated classes," who are at present sneered at by uneducated Englishmen, to the hands of designing demagogues with nothing to lose by revolution and anarchy.

As to this particular resolution, a moment's calm reflection will show that an acquiescence in the wish of the Congress would be as mischievous to the people as it would be perplexing to the Government. It is quite true that there are many cases in which natives should be allowed to use arms for protection against beasts of prey, and every reasonable facility should be afforded to that end. But the resolution as it stands is absolutely childish, and it is apparent upon the face of it that the Congress knows its request to be dangerous to the public welfare. Who is to be debarred from wearing arms? The Mohammedans? The Hindoos? The unruly mountaineers who swarm in the Punjab? If the request of the Congress were complied with, it would be the signal for feuds amongst the natives and would be a constant source of perplexity to the Government, which would have to publish its reasons for forbidding this or that person or body of men from wearing arms, and would be charged on all sides with favouritism, or with indiscretion in case of any abuse of the practice. I am far from asserting that an occasional indiscretion on the part of the Congress would justify the Government in disregarding its fair demands, but I am bound to say that the passing of this resolution by a vast assemblage of educated and intelligent men under the inspiration of a high-falutin speech seemed to me to strike a self-inflicted blow at the Congress far more severe than any that had been levelled at it by its avowed enemies.

On the other hand, I was perfectly astonished at the forbearance and self-control with which the vast audience listened to an attack made in its midst by one of its known enemies and detractors. This was Raja Siva Prasad, who, I was told, had managed to get himself elected a delegate to the Congress at Benares[1] as a professed supporter, but who on the second day stepped on to the platform and

[1] The Report of the Allahabad meeting, p. 19, says that he was not duly elected.

proposed what he called an amendment to a resolution. This was, in fact, a petition to the Lieutenant-Governor, which had been circulated and signed by opponents of the Congress at meetings which the speaker had himself been instrumental in calling in the North-West Provinces and Oudh. The petition was a denunciation of the publications and (misstated) Acts of the Congress, which it practically invited the Lieutenant-Governor to suppress; and, as a subsequent speaker, Mr. Norton, a barrister from Madras, wittily suggested (evidently in reference to Sir Syed Ahmed's change of front), the Raja had been delivered of a petition "which, I suppose, he anxiously hopes will turn out to be a K.C.S.I." A friend who witnessed the scene compared Raja Siva Prasad's escapade to Lord Randolph Churchill, or some other prominent Tory, going as a pretended supporter to a meeting of Mr. Gladstone at Bingley Hall, and proposing that he should be prosecuted for sedition; and there is no doubt that at any party-meeting at home the intruder would have been roughly handled, and ejected before he had uttered half a dozen sentences. Here, however, until his irritating and badly read and long-winded petition was nearly concluded, and the president deemed it advisable to interpose and tell him that his petition was no amendment, and that he had occupied considerably more than the allotted time, he was treated with good-humoured ridicule, and his eventual retirement from the platform was accompanied by loud laughter and applause. Let me here add that, so far as the native speakers are concerned, they carry into their political controversies the same courtesy that characterises their everyday life—an example which English politicians might follow with advantage.

As already stated, a considerable number of the speakers delivered orations of the very highest order, many of them evidencing a wide acquaintance with English as well as Oriental literature, and, I need hardly add, with every department of law and jurisprudence, inasmuch as several of the most prominent amongst them were English and native gentlemen in large practice, who have been called to the English bar. Their illustrations and similes, which were frequently quotations from great Oriental writers or from the speeches of British

orators or politicians, were at all times apt and telling, and the quaint wit of some of the native speakers was most refreshing to one who has been accustomed to English political harangues. Of course there were the usual bores, who severely tried the patience of a forbearing audience, and whom it was difficult for the president to control by means of his little gong, which announced the termination of the allotted time for speaking. I still see before me the face of one young native gentleman, who, after persistently ignoring the president's admonitions, at length descended from the platform, and, with a self-satisfied smirk, looked about him for the applause of his fellow-delegates. No one who had listened to that young man would ever afterwards doubt the descent of the Indo-Aryans and our branch of the Indo-Europeans from one common ancestry!

Besides the speakers to whom reference has already been made, I may mention, without under-estimating the addresses of many others, that Mr. Manamohun Ghose (Lincoln's Inn), treated the question of competitive examinations very effectively; Mr. Howard (Middle Temple) made one of the most forcible speeches of the session upon the vexed question of the separation of the judicial from the executive functions of certain English officials; Mr. Wacha, of Bombay, dealt forcibly with the *Abkari* (licensing) question; and Mr. Adams, of Madras, Mr. Atkins, editor of the *Allahabad Morning Post*, and Mr. S. Iyer, of Madras, made equally efficient speeches on the subject of education. Last, but not least, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, the ex-president, in moving that the resolutions be forwarded to the Viceroy, impressed upon the Congress the necessity of moderation in word and act. "Be patient," he said, "be moderate, be true to your cause. Even the English people need reforms which they have not got. Agitate, therefore, loyally and constitutionally; steer clear of all shoals in the shape of unreasonableness and extravagance; give a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together, and you will land yourselves on the shores of victory."

It was decided that the next meeting of the Congress (Christmas week, 1889) should be held in Bombay (partly in the expectation that the facilities now given by the large steamboat companies would induce English visitors to India to attend the

meeting, and it will be curious to note whether Mr. Bonnerjee's enthusiasm will continue to animate the natives sufficiently to maintain or extend its numbers and its influence.

Let me add, so far as my personal feelings were concerned, that as I sat and gazed upon that wonderful meeting assembled in its fairy palace at Allahabad, and listened to the eloquent addresses, far from sharing the apprehensions and hostile feelings of some of the opponents of the Congress who sat in my vicinity, I felt great pride in belonging to a nation whose thoughts, whose methods, and whose aspirations have penetrated into, and now pervade, the entire educated community of our vast Eastern Empire.

It has already been mentioned that several of the speakers criticised an after-dinner speech which had been delivered by Lord Dufferin, the departing Viceroy, dealing with the Congress and its demands for reform and some kind of representative government. In that speech he characterised the Congress as the movement of "some intelligent, well-meaning, and patriotic men, who were desirous of taking a movement in advance which other nations had spent ages of toil to accomplish." He said he was afraid the people of England would not readily be brought to accept its programme; denied its representative character; hinted that it should direct its attention to social reforms; expressed great regret that the pamphlets to which reference has been made should have been circulated throughout the country; and censured the indiscretion of Mr. Hume, whom "he believed to be its principal secretary," for saying "that he and his Congress friends held in their hands the keys not only of popular insurrection, but of military revolt." At the same time he said that he viewed with favour "the sympathy and desire of the educated classes in India to be more largely associated in the conduct of affairs in the country," and he hinted that he had submitted to the Home authorities some personal suggestions in harmony with their views. What those suggestions were the reader will hear presently.

The only fair criticisms on Lord Dufferin's speech which I heard at the Congress and elsewhere were, that his comparisons between India and Western countries were quite inappropriate,

namely, that the ripened fruits of their "ages of toil" had been conferred upon India by the English people, and that whilst our struggles for freedom commenced when this country was still in a state of barbarism, the Hindoos were taking their first steps under the influence and with the surroundings of the most advanced civilisation.[1] Another criticism was that the Viceroy was completely at the mercy of officials for his information; that he had no chance of forming an independent opinion on the representative character of the Congress. As to Mr. Hume's utterances, his friends were discreetly silent.

The suggestions referred to by Lord Dufferin were published in the *Bengalee* newspaper of Calcutta on the 16th March of this year, and they included a recommendation that the provincial councils should be reconstituted, and that the right of interpellation on domestic matters should be given to the Supreme Council. These suggestions he repeated after another banquet which was given in his honour more recently in London. He spoke of the "loyalty" of the Indian people (but, looking at the context, "obedience" would have been a better word); recommended "greater liberalisation of methods of government, and closer supervision by the House of Commons," and expressed his belief that the aspirations of the Indian people would meet with sympathetic English opinion.

After the delivery of Lord Dufferin's first speech, I found that many of the thoughtful natives regarded him as an enemy of freedom, and I was told that he was "an overrated man;" but I assured these gentlemen that, however much he might have been influenced by his surroundings, I thought they would find his recommendations at least friendly and judicious, and I greatly feared that they would not meet with the approval of the Home authorities. And thus far, I am sorry to say, that my prediction has been justified by events. One insignificant concession, if it can even be called a conces-

[1] "But we in our ripe age have taken all these slow growths of England, and have forced them in their maturity upon India . . . We have forced upon the educated classes of India the political ideas of England. Is it any wonder they should now demand some of the political institutions of Englishmen?"—*Sir W. Hunter*, "The Present Problem in India," *Contemporary Review*, September 1883.

sion has been made by the supreme authorities, and the benefit of that has been minimised by the spirit in which it was done.

When the Budget for the present year was presented to the Indian Council by the Executive, they were graciously permitted to criticise it. The Viceroy (Lord Lansdowne) took care to let his Council know that this was only the resumption of a former practice, but that they were to be allowed a little more latitude than their predecessors. Formerly Viceroys who allowed their Councils to discuss Budgets were treated as naughty boys, but that would be so no more. "A case is, I understand, upon record," he said, "in which a Viceroy drew upon himself the censure of the Secretary of State for having permitted a discussion of the Budget without the pretext that it was connected with one of the Bills brought before the Council during the session." And the advantage to be derived from such debates, he said, will be that "the responsibility will sit more lightly upon our shoulders if we know that our proposals have been framed in such a manner as to stand the test of examination and criticism by our colleagues at this table;" but the Viceroy reminded his colleagues that the ultimate decision would rest with the Executive.

Another "concession" is under the consideration of the authorities. They are considering the propriety of allowing the right of interpellation on matters of public interest, "precluding absolutely all questions which could not be put without injury to the public interest."[1]

But whilst the Government has not seen its way clear to adopt the very moderate recommendations of one of the most far-sighted men of our day—one who, to use his own expression, has served the country in three different capacities, "as colonial governor, as diplomatic representative, and as Indian ruler," and, let me add, who in two of those capacities has coped successfully with the great autocratic power to which evil designs upon our vast Eastern dependency are freely and openly attributed—it has quite recently published what can only be regarded as a defence of its past management of Indian affairs.

[1] The Viceroy's speech on the Budget. *Times of India*, April 5, 1889.

This has been done in an interesting Blue Book of very moderate dimensions entitled, "Memorandum of some of the Results of Indian Administration during the past Thirty Years of British Rule in India;"[1] and as I have here noticed, I trust with impartiality, the reforms loudly called for by the natives of India, it is only fair to let the Government speak for itself of the benefits which have in the past been conferred upon that country by British rule.

[1] Eyre & Spottiswoode. Price 4½d. Nearly all the Blue Books, by whosoever printed, are to be had of King, 1 King Street, Westminster.

# CHAPTER XXII.

## IMPERIAL INDIA.

The past thirty years of British rule in India—Official "Memorandum"—Slight reference to annexation—Results of peace—Fitness of natives for self-government—Official candour—Distribution of offices between British and natives—The cream for the British—Native honorary magistrates and municipal councillors—Inefficiency of police—Native special constables—Difficulties of the Government—References to agriculture and land tenure—"Landlordism" and peasant proprietorship in India—Poverty of labourers—General increase in prosperity of agriculture—Hoarding—Famine arrangements—Neglect of "Famine Reserve Fund"—Improved means of communication and transit—Trade and railways—Immense development—Irrigation—Public works generally—Lighthouses, schools, hospitals, &c.—Forests—Topographical, geological, and archæological surveys—Hunter's "Gazetteer"—Effects on Indian prosperity—Excellent staff of officials—Revenue and excise—The native princes—The "rendition of Mysore"—Official laudation of native princes—Criticism—Distrust of them—Sir James Gorst on the Maharajah of Kashmir—General views as to native princes—The Russian advance—The army—Changes in its constitution—Death-rate—Official view of Indian administration—Unfair criticism of the Government—A word to the natives.

BEFORE reviewing the report or "Memorandum" to which reference was made at the close of the last chapter, it is right that I should justify the remark that it is a defence of the past management of Indian affairs, and let me add, that the word "defence" here has no unfriendly import. It was issued, so far as I am aware, without being called for, by the Secretary of State for India, and is addressed to the recently appointed Viceroy, the Marquis of Lansdowne, who is completely in sympathy with the authorities at home. It purports to be a record of thirty years' rule under the Crown, and is designed to show what immense progress has been made since the deposition of the East India Company, who issued a similar manifesto (to which pointed reference is made) in 1857, the year of the mutiny, setting forth the progress of the country during the

preceding thirty years, and under ordinary circumstances, therefore, it should have appeared a year or two since. Coupling these facts with the native constitutional uprising, the establishment of an Indian Political Agency in London, and the increased attention which is being directed to Indian affairs in the House of Commons, where the only vote that has been given adverse to the present Government was on the question of the Indian licensing system, there is, I think, at least presumptive evidence that the Memorandum has been called for by what is regarded as some kind of crisis in Indian affairs.

Whatever causes may have led to its publication, and whatever strictures may be applied to it, the report is certainly a marvellous and, in the main, a fair record of work accomplished, and the fact that until recently that work has been carried on by an almost irresponsible body of officials, with hardly any check or criticism, adds greatly to the credit of the performance. A great deal of what it reports has already been published in the annual Blue Book on the "Moral and Material Progress of India," to which frequent references were made in the preceding chapters, and it is satisfactory to find in this summary—for that is what the Memorandum purports to be—confirmation of many of the opinions which I have expressed concerning the political and social position of the people.[1] As might be expected, little prominence is given to the warlike and annexing policy of the Government, but great stress is laid upon the benefits that have accrued from internal peace. A defensive tone in regard to the treatment of the natives and frank acknowledgment of their fitness for official life runs through the whole report, and it is greatly to the credit of the Government that no attempt is here made, as it has often been, both publicly and in private, by enemies of the natives, to shuffle out of the *bona-fides* of the royal proclamation, which declares that no person shall be disqualified by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, or colour from holding any place, office, or employment under the Crown. On the contrary, the Memorandum declares that "in fulfilment of the *just* aspirations of the educated and leading classes, much

[1] The "Memorandum" appeared after the greater portion of this work was written.

effort has been made *to associate the natives of India with the Government of their own country.*" The italics are mine, and although I am afraid there is a little talking to the gallery here, it blows to the winds the assertion made by many that India must be governed despotically by English officials. But the sum of the "efforts" referred to in the Memorandum has been chiefly the admission of natives to inferior and ill-paid posts. They have been placed in very small numbers on the bench of judges, and whilst, in January 1888, out of 964 superior officers of the civil administration, only 59, or a little over 6 per cent. were natives, 2553 out of 2588 subordinate offices were filled by them. The enormous difference between the pay of the higher and subordinate officers has already been spoken of at length. And yet we are told that in the native states under British control "native officers have repeatedly filled the post of regent or chief minister with advantage to the state and with credit to themselves."[1] A still more striking fact named in this part of the report is that last year there were more than two thousand native honorary magistrates, of whom it is said that "their decisions give satisfaction in the main, their procedure is correct, and many of them take a real interest in their public duties." The charges of corruption, which were formerly brought against native judges, are now "very rare, and with the improvement in education and" (mark!) "in salary has come a much higher standard of probity and sense of duty among native judges and magistrates."

A word of comment is here necessary. However correct these encomiums may be, it behoves the Government to maintain rigidly the standard of probity in the British officials who are placed over the natives, for, as Sir Raymond West has said in his review of the Crawford case, "a single perverse influence can clog and vitiate the whole working of the administration throughout a considerable part of the Presidency." And the report does full justice to the municipal committees. "In all parts of the country," it says, "natives

[1] Reference to pages is intentionally omitted. The whole Report is comprised in thirty-six pages, and should be read by any one who takes an interest in Indian affairs.

are learning to discharge important duties of local self-government; for in the municipal and district Boards which manage the local affairs of towns and rural tracts, the very great majority of members are natives of India." (It is these persons who in large numbers desire some form of representative government.)

The low *morale* of the police is freely admitted, and "some cases of extortion and oppression have come to light." Public sympathy, we are told, is not with the police, and they seem to be of little real use, for "against cattle-theft, housebreaking, and simple theft the police have not been successful, and those crimes are not diminishing." In fact, the authorities recognise the worthless character of the police, and trust for improvement to "education" and "better wages;" but there is a compensating advantage in the fact that if the paid police are untrustworthy "in times of trouble and at seasons when extreme pressure falls upon the local force, respectable townspeople and villagers accept and faithfully discharge the duties of special constables without pay or reward."

That part of the report which refers to the admission of natives to responsible posts seems to place the Government in the least favourable light; they have changed the system, but are afraid of carrying their principles to a logical conclusion. At the same time their difficulties have to be considered, and the outcry that was raised against the Ilbert Bill shows that in any attempts to admit the natives to remunerative and responsible offices the Indian Government is sure to encounter violent opposition, not only from its own officials, but from the whole British community.

Of the agricultural condition of the country the report says a good deal that I am enabled to confirm by personal observation. Although land reformers may split straws over the questions of "land nationalisation" and "peasant proprietors" holding direct from the Crown, it is quite clear that the principles of the most advanced reformers are successfully carried into practice in India, and that the most striking disadvantages of feudalism are there apparent. The position of tenants or occupiers has, by means of legislative enactments, been made more secure than formerly over a great part of

India, and the investigation of this and germane subjects has revealed the fact that in India "landlordism" and misery for the masses are closely associated. The condition of the latter, the report says, "depends partly upon who gets the profits of agriculture." "In the Punjab and parts of the North-West Provinces, in Bombay and Madras, in Burma and Assam, the profits of agriculture go wholly or in part direct to a sturdy and, in ordinary years, a prosperous peasantry, who till most of the land themselves; whilst in Behar, Western Bengal, Orissa, Oudh, and part of the North-West Provinces, most of the profits of agriculture go to the landlords. In these latter provinces the pressure of population and the competition for land have forced up rents so as to leave in some cases only a bare margin for the support of tenants with small holdings."

Of the condition of the labourers, the best that can be said is that "in ordinary years, when the harvests are undoubtedly good, even the landless labourers, as a class, get enough to eat," or, as the last report of Lord Dufferin's Government puts it, "they get enough food to do their work." Still the authorities are of opinion that all classes are better off than they were thirty years ago; the hoardings of the precious metals having risen from an average of $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions of tens of rupees (roughly pounds sterling) before 1857, to $11\frac{1}{2}$ millions during the past thirty years. In 1877–78, the year of the great famine, the money coined in the country sprang up from an average of about 6 millions to over 16 millions of tens of rupees, the difference being chiefly "hoards and jewellery in the distressed districts." Arrangements for coping with famines have been perfected through the introduction of railways, and such arrangements have been rendered more necessary by the rapid removal of grain which was formerly stored. "Every province has its plan of relief-organisation and relief-works thought out and sanctioned beforehand." In 1887, during the South Indian famine, 4000 tons of food were brought daily by rail from the North of India; but, with remarkable frankness, the report tells us that whilst it has been deemed essential to hold a Famine Reserve Fund, none has been raised. Patriotic assurances are substituted for this omission, but it is clear that the Govern-

ment has been outrunning the constable to such an extent as to exclude this necessary precaution.

The land revenue has been more economically and less vexatiously settled, and means of communication have assisted the agricultural classes by opening markets for places previously "landlocked;" the peasantry have, in consequence, become more prosperous and contented. In proof of this it is stated that "in 1888 the land revenue was raised from 1,409,880 taxpayers with only 4096 legal processes for the recovery of arrears."

The whole trade of the country has made rapid strides, notwithstanding the outcry about the depreciation of silver, which entails loss upon the Government and the officials for remittances to England and on the savings of the latter. The following figures speak volumes:—

| | Imports by Sea. | Exports by Sea. |
|---|---|---|
| In 1838 . | 14¾ millions sterling. | 25½ millions sterling. |
| „ 1888 . | 65 „ „ | 90 „ „ |

The enormous growth of the railway system and its advantages to the country have already been referred to at length, but the following particulars, taken from the Memorandum, may be of interest:—

| | Miles of Railway Open. | Number of Passengers Carried. | Tons of Goods. |
|---|---|---|---|
| In 1857 | 300 . | 2 millions. | 253 thousand. |
| „ 1887 | 14,000 (and 2000 under construction) . | 95½ „ | 20 millions. |

Owing to the guarantees and help given to railways and the loss on exchange, these undertakings, taken *per se*, entail a loss on the Exchequer.

Whilst in 1857 about 1,500,000 acres were irrigated by canals, in 1887 "the total area that took water from all public irrigation works in India was 10,951,000 acres."

Vast works have been undertaken for the benefit of the whole community in the shape of lighthouses, improved prisons, hospitals, public offices, school-houses, colleges, &c. In some cases the Government has paid the whole cost, in others it has aided and subsidised these undertakings. Between 1865 and 1886 the number of schools for the masses has risen from

about 19,000 to 122,000, the number of scholars in proportion. The forests of the Government have been utilised, and scientific skill has been brought to bear on their improvement. From being almost valueless, they are now beginning to yield a fair revenue. Sanitary works have been undertaken and encouraged, and, as already mentioned, municipal and district Boards have been established all over India, and to these are now delegated many useful duties that can only be carried out on the spot.

A topographical survey of the whole country has been made, and in 1886–87 there were 315 different maps, besides several thousand cadastral village maps. A geological survey has stimulated the production of useful minerals (including coal) and metals; marine surveys have protected and fostered trade; and an archæological survey has led to the preservation and restoration of many beautiful mediæval and ancient monuments, whilst in Sir William Hunter's "Gazetteer" a large amount of varied and valuable information has been collected and permanently preserved. In these surveys India enjoys the services of a large staff of learned and experienced men of different nationalities, second to none in the world, men whose whole soul and energy are thrown into their work, as I myself can testify from personal observation. The postal and telegraph systems of India, too, have been well developed. Of the revenue and excise system much may be said *pro* and *con*. The report defends the out-still system very feebly. The reason given for applying the old contract system to outlying districts is because "administrative supervision is difficult." (That is exactly the objection of the drink reformers.) It claims that the revenue from spirits has risen, and that the price to consumers is raised, implying that difficulties are thereby thrown in the way of drinking. The House of Commons has, however, decided that question otherwise, and it would not have been mentioned here but for my desire as a matter of fairness to give the views of the authorities.

There are two or three other subjects in the report to which a brief space must be devoted here, namely, our relations with the native states, the army, and the Russian advance. After the mutiny, we are told, all the loyal princes were confirmed

in their possessions, and wherever it has since been possible, annexation has been avoided; indeed, a great point is made of the fact that "the rendition of Mysore to a native prince after fifty years of British administration showed that no native state would be annexed to British India so long as annexation could be avoided." I do not pretend to any special knowledge on this subject, but, with deference, it seems to me that the "fifty years of British administration" cannot have been so popular as it has been asserted to be in other districts, where it is said that the people objected to the change from our rule to that of the native princes. The latter, we are told, initiate all kinds of improvements, and these good results are "greatly due to peace secured, example set, and control exercised by the British Government." The report expatiates further on the loyalty of the native chiefs, and says that "no general and spontaneous offer of swords and treasure of Indian chiefs was ever made to the British Government until 1884 and 1887."

Here we must halt for a moment. There are many persons in India, and some experienced writers on the country, who place little confidence in the loyalty of the native princes, and who say that self-interest and opportunism are the moving springs of all their actions. That there exists a good deal of distrust of some of them even in the minds of their eulogists is apparent from occasional outbursts in official circles. Of these the following extract from the proceedings of the House of Commons, 19th June 1889, affords an illustration:—

"*Sir James Gorst*, in reply to Mr. Bradlaugh, said the Government of India had neither annexed the state of Kashmir nor subjected its ruler to any indignity. The Maharajah had voluntarily resigned the government of his state, and he would receive a suitable allowance.

"*Mr. Bradlaugh.*—Is the Under-Secretary aware that the Maharajah repudiates any such voluntary action?

"*Sir J. Gorst.*—The Secretary for India has no information on that point, but if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Bradlaugh) knew the Maharajah of Kashmir as well as the Government of India does, he would not be surprised at his repudiating anything (laughter)."

Unless I was greatly misinformed by both natives and Englishmen of wide experience and high position in India, the

fact is, that whilst there are some native princes who are doing their best to ameliorate the condition of their subjects, the annexation of the possessions of several would be a desirable step in the interests of the people themselves. On such matters as these the Government of India is the only competent judge.

One serious change that has taken place, though not in India itself, to which reference is made in the Memorandum, must not be overlooked. Between the years 1857 and 1888 the approach of Russia towards India has been great and rapid, namely, from the Caspian Sea, a thousand miles off, to the confines of Afghanistan, only 430 miles distant. A word or two will be said concerning the position and policy of Russia in the concluding chapter; here it is only necessary to draw attention to the fact that the attitude of the great Muscovite power affects and is affected by the relations between the Indian Government and the people, and it has to be considered also in the constitution of the army, that is to say, in the dependence that is to be placed on native levies. In this respect, the changes which have taken place in the Indian army since the mutiny are best shown in the two following lines of figures, extracted from the Memorandum:—

| | In 1856. | In 1886. |
|---|---|---|
| There were European soldiers . . | 40,000 | 72,000 |
| There were native soldiers . . . | 215,000 | 152,000 |
| | 255,000 | 224,000 |

In other words, whilst there has been a considerable reduction in the total numerical strength of the army, the number of British troops has been nearly doubled, whilst those of the natives have been reduced by more than one-fourth.[1] The reasons for this change are set forth in the Memorandum, as also the changes in the health of the army:—

| | In 1856. | In 1886. |
|---|---|---|
| The death-rate of native troops was . | 20 per 1000 | 12 per 1000 |
| The death-rate of European troops was . | 69 per 1000 | 13 per 1000 |

[1] This does not accurately state the decrease in the native troops, as those employed in native states (32,000) should be added to the 215,000 in 1856, whilst such troops are included in the 152,000 of 1888.

A very satisfactory improvement, which is due partly to the sanitary arrangements of the authorities, and probably also to increased sobriety—where there is, however, still great scope for reformation.

The Memorandum concludes modestly and somewhat academically as follows:—"The polity, the progress, and the requirements of India have been investigated by competent critics of many nations, and the general verdict has been that, despite mistakes and shortcomings such as are inseparable from human effort, the administration of India by the Crown has been an earnest and fairly successful attempt to solve political, social, and material problems of much difficulty and perplexity."

Like most "Blue Books," this one will probably have attracted but little attention in quarters where it is desirable that it should be read carefully; and in endeavouring to give its contents greater publicity, I cannot help expressing the hope that it will remind the natives of India of the great and increasing advantages which they enjoy under British rule. Whilst I do not for a moment question their right to demand political reforms, and a greater participation in the expenditure of their taxes, I would remind them that it is most unfair to charge the Indian Government, as some of their organs do, with a want of solicitude for the welfare of the masses, and that any reforms which might be secured at the cost of security and peaceful progress would indeed be dearly purchased.

# CHAPTER XXIII.

## RETROSPECT—THE FUTURE OF INDIA—CONCLUSION.

Review of history—The "Dasyus" and modern aborigines—The Indo-Aryans and modern civilisation—The Persians, Greeks, and Scythians—The Mussulmans—The Portuguese, Dutch, and French—The English—Outcome of British rule—India's future—Conflicting opinions as to permanency of British rule—Pessimistic views—Opinions of Lord Northbrook and other statesmen—Designs of Russia—How to counteract them—Fallacy of speculating on the distant future—Native participation in the Government—Redress of grievances—The "educated minority"—The National Congress—How far representative—Exposition of native Indian interests in England—The policy of *divide et impera*—Its danger—Probable duration of British rule in India—A few words to native leaders—Physical inferiority of the Hindoos—British "despotism" so called—Experience of the Parsees in Persia—Advantages of British rule to India—Of an enterprising official class—Of the Viceroy's short tenure of office—Warning as to violence and sedition—Conclusion.

THE past and contemporary history of India affords a remarkable panoramic spectacle to the observer, for members of almost every tribe and nation appear at one time or another to have met there to illustrate the story of mankind, the Aryan, the Semitic, the Mongol, and the Negro types abounding even in our day (Plate I.).

First, in the distant and obscure past, we see a savage race, the Dasyus or Nishadas of the legends, raised just one step above the "lower form than man," with demons for their gods, and fighting but with Nature for dominion; beings who this day are known as "aborigines," and may be met with literally wallowing in the mire in spots which art and Nature have combined to beautify. The natural history of these tribes presents an interesting problem to the student of the origin of man.

Next come the Vedic people, known as "Indo-Aryans," conquerors at first, but almost ever afterwards a subject race;

and *their* descendants, too, still wallow in the mire of idol-worship, with all its nauseous practices. But though those "Indo-Aryans" were rarely governed by native sovereigns, they still have had an interesting national career, and, notwithstanding dialectic controversies on the unity of man, the probability remains that it was their early civilisation which formed the basis of theirs and of our own to-day.

First, for example, the Buddhist, Christian, and Hindoo trinities, and every other threefold manifestation or conception of the Deity which the world has known, appear but modifications of the Vedic godhead. Next, the arts of the Vedic people, developed and improved, are practised in our time in the bazaar of every native city. The Hindoo youth and maidens wed to-day with Vedic ceremonies, of which distinctive traces are still found in Western marriage customs. The primitive appliances for tillage which upturned the soil in the "Land of the Five Rivers" continue to make furrows in the rich plantations of Bengal; the simple wain that bears away the harvests of the East is used to gather in the bountiful products of the Danubian plains.

Then comes the march of nations over the scene, reminding one of those mimic processions with which the modern stage is frequently enlivened. Some strut across the boards, salute the audience, and then retreat to an obscure corner, where they stand unnoticed to the end. Others appear to hold their own awhile, until they are succeeded by a more brilliant band of actors, when they too modestly retire; and so the play proceeds.

So it has been in India in the stern realities of the historic past. First came Darius with his Persian hordes, cousins of the Indo-Aryan races, who at an earlier period had severed themselves from the parent stock. They for a time held sway over their Indian "satrapy;" retired or were driven out; left traces of their early occupation, and at a later date bequeathed to modern India that Parsee leaven which to-day is elevating the entire community.

Next there appeared the Greeks, a well-organised military host, led by the conqueror of the ancient world, driving before them the native warriors and their elephants, but beaten in

their turn and driven back by torrid heats and by malarial fevers, that have oft proved fatal to invaders who had borne successfully the rigours of the Himalayan passes. They too have left behind them coins and carvings which, along with their historic writings, constitute our earliest authentic records of the country. Meanwhile a power had risen amongst the Indian people which exercised a temporary influence on their religious faith, but a more abiding one upon their social customs. The ministry of the ascetic prince of Kapilavastu changed for a time, in part at least, the religion of the country, and enlisted under the Buddhist banner that most mysterious race of Central Asian wanderers, the Scythians. These, through their graven records and by the edicts of their chiefs who ruled in India, have added one more chapter to the nation's history.

Meanwhile the original invaders had spread themselves over the land, driving the "Dasyus" before them or settling in their midst, until, after a long interval, another and still fiercer conquering race penetrated the western passes of the Himalayas, and holding their own for many centuries, founded a powerful dynasty, which at one time ruled over the greater part of India. Those Mughal emperors have left, as testimony to their greatness, innumerable mosques and tombs, and palaces and mausoleums unrivalled for their beauty and magnificence. Unlike their predecessors, too, the Mussulmans have multiplied in numbers, until now they constitute one-fifth of the inhabitants. Their social customs, and the links that bind them to their co-religionists of Asia, Africa, and Europe, distinguish them amongst the Indian people as a foreign element, a most important factor in the future progress of the nation.

But side by side with the magnificence and luxury of the Mughal ruling class we saw the poverty and degradation of the subject race, and it was not till Christian nations had begun to mould the destinies of India that there was any thought bestowed upon the welfare of the masses, and not at first by those, who looked upon the country as "milk-cow," to use the quaint expression of the native journalist.

One by one the European processions flit across the scene.

First came the Portuguese, with proselytising zeal and cruelties, marching under the sacred banner of the Cross. Next the phlegmatic Dutch, to trade and nothing more. Then the vivacious glory-loving Frenchman, whose power and prestige to use a hackneyed simile, "went up just like a rocket and came down just like a stick." And finally the British, combining with a little Portuguese fanaticism the trading spirit of the Netherlands and the Gallic love of military fame and conquest, and every nationality made way before them.

At first our Indian rule was tarnished by many a mean and cruel act; but by and by the voice of justice which resounds at home was echoed in our distant Empire, and whilst our governors and viceroys still extended our dominion, they vied with one another in the introduction of reforms, until at length the sepoy mutiny completely closed the long reign of the great trading corporation which for centuries had wielded power in India. Then were adopted vigorous measures for promoting the welfare of the people, and Indian history entered on its latest phase. Education was stimulated to prepare all ranks of natives for a higher and more useful life; and though it needs to be more practical and less scholastic, it is undoubtedly uprooting superstition and assimilating the Oriental with the Western mind. Medical reform too, graced by the efforts of a noble lady, whilst it alleviates the sufferings of the native women, teaches the men to treat them, not as slaves and instruments of pleasure, as they have been dealt with from time immemorial, but as helpmates worthy of their care and reverence. Missionaries are assisted by the State, not to proselytise, but to refine and educate and Christianise the heathen. Freedom of the press is giving voice to the people, and enabling them to appeal to the mother-country for redress of grievances; a vast municipal system is awakening a sense of national responsibility, and is becoming a political and social educator; and last, the right of public meeting, that cherished privilege of Englishmen, has called into existence two widespread agencies, the National and Social Congresses, which will in time, if wisely led, contribute to the social and political emancipation of the Hindoo race. So much for the past and present of the Indian people.

Reference has been made in the preceding pages to the conflicting opinions of writers and speakers on the actual condition of India at the present time, but still more diversified have been the speculations hazarded concerning our future relations with the country and its ultimate destiny; such views depending very much upon the interests, profession, or proclivities of the persons by whom they are expressed. The general opinions of the official classes I have already given at some length, and, just as in their case, it is not unusual to hear a person whose capital is invested in the country, and whose interest perhaps extends to real estate, exclaim: "If you wish to hold the country for another generation or two and no longer, why then you may give liberty to the people; but if you desire to remain permanently in India, you must protect us, keep down the Baboos, and rule with the sword." I have heard this dictum, with variations, fifty times repeated.

Then you may meet with men who believe that England has a mission to perform in India, and that having accomplished her task there, she will retire; but whether voluntarily or not in their opinion, they fail to predicate. "What will be the end of it, I wonder?" a zealous missionary in Oudh said to me; "shall we Christianise India and then withdraw from the country? I really think that is England's mission," he added.

"For them" (the local rulers of the country) "there is good and noble work to be done during the remaining period of our stay in India," says Cotton in his "New India,"[1] whilst many other remarks in the work of that experienced and outspoken civil servant point to the same conclusion, that our occupation of the country will not be permanent. Sometimes, however, men from whom different sentiments might be expected strike a minor key and adopt the most pessimistic views of the future of our great dependency. I remember meeting a retired Indian officer at Buxton, about twenty years since, who did not hesitate to predict that in ten years from that time the Russians would drive the British out of the country. This may have been a case of "liver," and the view expressed cer-

tainly does not correspond with those of the military men with whom I conversed on the subject in India. But despondent as it was, it is nothing to the pessimism of Mr. Meredith Townsend, who resided many years in the country, and was highly esteemed as the editor of the well-known journal the *Friend of India*. He says:—

"The catastrophe will arrive either in some totally unforeseen manner or through a general insurrection aided by a voluntary transfer of power from European to Asiatic hands. The insurrection will occur within a month of our sustaining any defeat whatever severe enough to be recognised as a defeat in the Indian bazaars. Whether the enemy is an internal one, as, for example, a Mussulman leader in the Deccan, or an external one, such as a Russian army, or even an Afghan army, the defeat within our own territory or on our border would break the spell of our invincibility, and would be followed by a spontaneous and universal insurrection of sepoys and armed police," &c.[1] And the sequel to the catastrophe, according to the same writer, would be that "India will fly in pieces, . . . railways, the only thing we have built, will be torn up, the universities will be scouted by military rulers, the population will begin to decline, and, in short, for one word expresses it all, India will once more be Asiatic."[2]

Doubtless, most of my readers will remember that our countrymen in India have already passed through many a crisis, such as the apprehensions of this writer predict in the future, and that they were tided over at a period when British rule was not so firmly established as it is at present; and many, I trust, will agree with me that England's retention of India will depend almost entirely upon her policy towards the nation intrusted to her care.

It is useless to be utopian in discussing such a matter, and we must not look for perfection in any Government, nor expect infallibility in one such as ours in India, hampered as it is by conflicting interests and nationalities. More than one statesman has pointed out the path of duty in this respect. "There is a simple test," said Lord Northbrook, "which we may apply to all Indian questions; let us never forget that it is our duty to govern India, not for our own profit and

[1] "Will England Retain India?" by Meredith Townsend, in the *Contemporary Review*, p. 810, June 1888.

[2] Ibid., p. 213.

advantage but for the benefit of the natives of India." And other governors of the country, notably, Lord Dalhousie, have, in like manner, declared that rulers exist only for the benefit of the governed. But leaving self-interest out of the question, the "test" is not so simple as Lord Northbrook has said. The steady progress which one class of statesmen believes to be for the good of the people, another party denounces as revolutionary and destructive of the fabric of society.

Again, if India were surrounded by the sea, and we could defend her with our fleets, and thus make sure of peace within her borders, it would be far easier than it is at present (using the words of the President of the National Congress) to "loosen her bonds." True, there is no more chance of Russia's attempting permanently to occupy India than there is of our aiming at the conquest of European Russia itself; but that she is moving nearer to our frontier year by year we have seen; that the filibustering officers whom she sends to Central Asia (often because they are a danger to her at home) are longing to measure swords with us in the East is well known; that she will dispatch a powerful expedition against our Indian Empire as soon as it consorts with her Western policy appears to me a matter of absolute certainty. How, then, to avert the "rising behind," referred to by the young Conservative member of Parliament already quoted? Is it by trusting to native levies or depending upon native princes? God forbid! As well trust to a sailing vessel and the shifting wind against an iron-clad. One line of policy alone can save us from disaster; that is, the loyalty and co-operation of our native subjects, and those it should be our earnest aim to cultivate.

After all, is it not vain to speculate upon the future of India a century, or even a few decades hence? Just imagine some enterprising merchant or manufacturer, or the founder of any extensive establishment which has grown up and been developed under his fostering care,—just imagine such an one holding his hand to speculate upon what his grandchildren will do with his accumulated property, or whether any one is waiting to deprive them of their inheritance.

Men do not act thus in their everyday existence, why should they in State affairs? When a man has built up a great under-

taking, he looks about him amongst his employés, and if he be wise, without waiting to be asked, he gives a substantial interest to those who are the most likely to bear the burden of his work and to second his efforts at improvement. He may, and often does show favour to his sons, if they are not likely to endanger his plans and dissipate his fortunes (as they often do), and we too should favour our sons in India so far as it is compatible with our duty to the nation. But although it may be unpalatable to the English residents in India, and even contrary to the policy of a large section of our people at home, it will be consistent with the welfare of the Indian nation and with our own security to trust the people, and, "as far as may be," take them into partnership in the government of their country. From this it must not for an instant be inferred that we should at once appoint a native Viceroy, or throw open every post of responsibility on equal terms to Hindoo, Mussulman, and English (although some consider that the latter has been promised to the people by the highest authority), but still more absurd than such a proceeding would it be to hold the cup of freedom to a thirsty nation's lips, and, after letting it take one long draught, to cry, "Hold, enough! You'll get no more until it suits our interests and pleasure."

Of course there are the usual stereotyped replies to these arguments. "Not ready for emancipation," "education not complete," &c., &c.; but education we have given to a whole army of natives, until many of them have attained a higher stage than our own representatives in India; and if we have not instructed them in military tactics, they have learned at our hands electioneering manœuvres and political finesse. It will be far wiser to listen to their suggestions and meet them fairly, than to wait until they *demand* reforms and the redress of grievances, which they are sure to do as soon as they are strong enough to enforce their request.[1]

And in this connection it is most unwise to ignore the National Congress, which is often characterised by its opponents as an "educated minority." What on earth are we in India but an insignificant educated minority? And what

[1] "Gratitude is not to be expected by rulers who give to fear what they have refused to justice."—MACAULAY.

would the censors of the national movement say if it had originated with the ignorant masses?[1] The native educated minority will, in a constantly increasing measure, secure the confidence of the masses, whilst, if we continue to rule with a high hand, we shall lose it in the same proportion. In the name of common sense do not let our Indian Government play the part of the ostrich hiding its head in the sand lest it should be seen of the hunters. It cannot be too often repeated that it is better to consult the wishes of the present leaders than to let the national movement, as it grows, drift into the hands of unscrupulous demagogues, and to afford excuses for breaches of "law and order," not to speak of other contingencies which it would neither be wise nor patriotic to mention in this place.

Although it may not represent the whole of the ignorant masses, the Congress is certainly to a large degree representative in the best meaning of the term. If the reader will but consult the carefully prepared report of its last meeting, he will find that it comprises municipal councillors elected by that section of the people which supports the State with taxes; teachers chosen by intelligent students of mature age, native and English barristers, as respectable and loyal as could be desired; native as well as English journalists (many of the best of the former); native and English merchants and mill-owners, with doubtless, as in all political movements, a large sprinkling of demagogues and self-seekers; but from careful personal observation, I am prepared to maintain that at present respectability, intelligence, and patriotism are to the fore.

But there is one contingency to be feared in our relations with India which will be best understood from a simile. The waves of action and reaction in politics diminish in violence as they recede from the centre, like the concentric rings on the surface of the water into which a stone has been cast, and it would be a great blessing to India if the simile were applicable to her relations with political parties in this country, so that the spirit of progress here should be felt in India without

1 The proportion of English to natives in the vast territory of India is about 1 in 2700; of Dutch to natives in the comparatively insignificant island of Java it is 1 in 79.

unnecessary convulsions. But although the two countries are thousands of miles apart, the electric telegraph practically brings them into immediate contact, and if, through the indifference of English statesmen, the representation of Indian interests in this country, taken from the native point of view, should fall into the hands of violent politicians, progress will be fitful, reaction irritating, and the relations between the native and the British races will become more strained than ever.

To set Mohammedans and Hindoos by the ears by favouring the former is the worst policy of all. The time may not be distant when we can no longer help the "dying man," and then we must expect the Mussulmans of India to make common cause with their European co-religionists. In any case, the day would come when, seeing through our tactics, the two great bodies, Mohammedans and Hindoos, would coalesce against us, instead of joining, as we should encourage them to do, in all political and social movements undertaken under our control and guidance for the common welfare. If the advocates of *divide et impera* appeal to the example of Akbar, as they do sometimes, let them not forget the ultimate results of his mistaken policy.

These are the only apprehensions that present themselves to my mind in connection with our future rule in India, and there seem to be no reasons, excepting such as are suggested by selfishness or fear, why it should not be indefinitely prolonged. And this, too, to the constantly increasing advantage of both branches of the Aryan race, provided each succeeding Government in India and at home shall seek as far as possible to adapt the principles of liberty that have made this country what she is to the vast empire which has been intrusted to our charge; and provided, too, that British hauteur shall not ignore the fact that India was not created for our sole benefit, but that there is a Higher Power than even the British Crown guarding the interests and disposing of the fortunes of her people.

And now, in conclusion, I should like to say a few plain but friendly words to those educated natives who aspire to guide the destinies of their fatherland. It is clear that there

must be some disqualification, some radical defect, in the character of a nation numbering at present two hundred million souls, which, for more than two thousand years, has been more or less dominated by one set of conquering invaders after another, a people living, too, in a country geographically well adapted to exclude marauders. But it is only necessary to look at the physique of the Hindoos in order to account for their subjection to alien races; for physical inferiority, especially in those who ought to be the ruling class, is their most prominent defect. It is needless to reiterate at length the causes of that inferiority, for native social reformers are well aware that the seclusion and subjection of women and early marriages militate against the growth of a race of strong and healthy men; and they must know, too, that the age of physical force and courage is not yet past, and that, modern instruments of warfare notwithstanding, the strong still dominate the weak. And whilst these causes affect the higher classes, it must also be remembered that abject idolatry in the lower is not calculated to inspire them with a love of freedom, nor to awaken the qualities necessary to fit them for self-government. It is, therefore, clearly the duty of those who aim at being the leaders of the people to look to their social regeneration and physical development even more earnestly than to their political advancement.

They must remember, too, that British despotism is a very different matter from the Oriental despotisms under which they have groaned in the past, and that even to-day Mohammedan rule is not one to be desired. The most intelligent and cultivated natives, the Parsees, or rather their co-religionists, are now enjoying a taste of that régime in a less happy State not far removed. The *Indian Spectator*, one of the most respectable native papers, says of the Parsees of Persia, the original possessors of the soil,[1] "The followers of the old faith are very badly off in Iran, treated as a conquered race, and deserving" ("considered deserving" is meant) "only to be down-trodden." What a contrast to the Parsees of India, whose excellence is fully appreciated; and what a state of

[1] July 7, 1889.

things would arise in different parts of that country which are still under Mussulman rule, but for the strong hand and restraining influence of Great Britain.

And again, whilst the natives look to the British to extend their railways, and expect the Government to interfere in such matters as the mitigation of famines, they must not cry out against a grandmotherly régime. The domination of the British may be irksome, and their manner objectionable (although the superstitious customs of the natives must be held responsible for much of the alienation that exists), but they are good administrators and educators, and they give up health and strength in the performance of their duties, whilst the energy and progressive spirit of the English officials counterbalances the dead weight of native apathy and conservatism. Even the brief duration of the Viceroy's stay has its advantages as well as its disadvantages. Some of our finest public men have been sent to fill that post, and if the residence of a good Viceroy is short, so too is that of an indifferent one. As I have already observed, a native gentleman said to me, "We like your people best when they first come out, but they soon get into English ways." Holding this view, as I know many of the natives do, it is well that the Viceroy should bring freshness, vigour, and independence to his task, and that he should retire before he becomes saturated with official prejudices. If the natives would ask themselves honestly, "What is our condition to-day? What would it have been if the English had not come amongst us?" I am sure that the answer would be, that notwithstanding its drawbacks, and what appear to them to be its objectionable features, the British supremacy has been an inestimable blessing to the country.

One other point in Indian politics, and I have done. The land problem may not be satisfactorily solved in every part of India, but it offers no parallel to that of Ireland, and the great landowning interest in this country is in no way affected by Indian systems of land tenure. However protracted therefore the struggle of the natives may be for better pay and larger participation in the councils of the State, for, after all, those are the real questions at issue, there will be no justification

for sedition, crime, or outrage; and so far as the present responsible leaders of the nationalist party are concerned, I am sure that such acts would be as repugnant to their feelings as to those of their rulers. It is to be hoped, therefore, that they will severely discountenance such acts of violence should they arise in any form, not because they might be fiercely resented in self-defence by a comparatively isolated governing class, but because they are reprehensible and in no way conducive to the welfare of those on whose behalf they are perpetrated; but, on the contrary, they tarnish the brightness of the noblest cause.

And now, in bidding adieu to my readers, if I should be favoured with such in India and at home, I would express the earnest hope that those ties which bind the two great branches of the Aryan family may year by year become more close and friendly; that their association may result in added happiness to both; and that to the whole human race it may bring extended knowledge and experience in the arts, in science, literary lore, and in religious truth.

# APPENDIX B.

## TENURES OF LAND IN INDIA IN 1881.[1]

*Oudh.*—Great Zamindars (Talookdars) almost complete owners, with few subordinate rights.[2]

*North-West Provinces.*—Moderate proprietors. Old ryots have fixity of tenure at a fair rent.

*Punjab.*—Very small and very numerous proprietors. Old ryots have also fixity of tenure at fair rents.

*Bengal.*—Great Zamindars, rights limited. Numerous sub-proprietors of several grades under them. Ancient ryots with rights as above. In some cases (as at Beheea, described in the chapter on Agriculture) the "fair rent" is variable.

*Central Provinces.*—Moderate proprietors. Ancient ryots who are sub-proprietors of their holdings at fixed rent for the term of each settlement. Other old ryots have fixity of tenure at fair rents.

*Madras and Bombay.*—The ryots are generally complete proprietors of the soil, subject only to payment of revenue.

*Waste Lands* have been sold at a nominal price in fee in Assam, Cachar, the Neilgherries, &c.

Supplementary to the above (and the essay named at foot in note 1), the reader will find in the "Statistical Abstract relating to British India" from 1877–8 to 1886–7 (Blue Book, 1888), on pp. 56 to 69, a mass of useful information concerning the "Varieties of tenure," "Surveyed and assessed areas," "Village communities," "Revenue rate per acre," &c., &c., which will enable him to form a fair general idea of the land question in India.

[1] Extracted, chiefly verbatim, from the summary of tenures as described by Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I., M.P., in "Systems of Land Tenure in Various Countries." Cobden Club Essays. Cassell.

[2] I was told that in some cases the subordinate rights are very considerable.

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PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE, HANSON AND CO.
EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

Digitized with financial assistance from

on 07 January, 2017